

1507/10/5
Bishop BURNET'S

TRAVELS

THROUGH

*Switzerland, Italy, some Parts
of Germany, &c.*

CONTAINING

An Account of what seem'd most remarkable in those Parts. Communicated by him, in several Letters, to the Honourable *Rob^t. Boyle, Esq;*

To which is added

An APPENDIX, containing some Remarks on *Switzerland* and *Italy*, writ by a Person of Quality, and communicated to the Author.

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CONTAINING

An Account of what has been
done in the State of Michigan
since the year 1800, and
to the Honorable

to which is added

An Appendix containing some
remarks on the State and
by a Person of Quality and
presented to the Author.

D. C. B. & T. M.

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Bishop

Bishop BURNET'S

TRAVELS.

CONTAINING

An Account of what seemed most
remarkable in *Switzerland, Italy, &c.*

A Letter from ZURICH.

S I R,

It is so common to write *Travels*, that for one, who has seen so little, and as it were in haste, it it may look like a presumptuous Affectation to be reckon'd among *Voyagers* if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a Ramble, and concerning *Places* so much visited, and by consequence so well known; yet having had Opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that *travel*, and having joined to those a Curiosity almost equal to the Advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful Entertainment, if I give you some Account of those Things that pleased me most in the Places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary books, for which I refer you to the *Prints*; for as you know, that I have no great Inclination to copy what

A

others

others have said; so a Traveller has not Leisure, nor Humour enough for so dull an Employment.

As I came all the Way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amazed to see so much Misery as appeared, not only in *Villages*, but even in big *Towns*, where all the Marks of an extream Poverty showed themselves both in the *Buildings*, the *Cloaths*, and almost in the Looks of the *Inhabitants*: And a general dispeopling in all the *Towns* was a very visible Effect of the Hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent Situation of *Lions*, of the noble *Rivers* that meet there, of the *Rock* cut from so vast a Height for a Prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the *Town-House*, of the *Jesuits* College, and *Library* of the famous *Nunnary* of *St. Peter*, of the *Churches*, particularly *St. Irene's*, of the Remnants of the *Aqueducts*, of the *Columns* and the old *Mosaick* in the *Abbey Dene*. In short, *Mr. Spon* has given such an Account of the *Curiosities* there, that it were a very presumptuous Attempt to offer to come after him.

The *Speech* of *Claudius*, ingraven on a *Plate* of *Brass*, and set in the End of the low Walk in the *Town-House*, is one of the noblest *Antiquities* in the World, by which we see the Way of Writing and Pointing in that Age very copiously. The *Shield* of *Silver* of twenty two Pound Weight, in which some Remains of Gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous Action of *Scipio's*, of restoring a fair Captive to a *Carthaginian Prince*, is certainly the noblest Piece of *Plate* that is now extant, the Embossing of it is so fine and entire that it is indeed invaluable: And if there were an *Inscription* upon it to put us beyond Conjecture, it were yet much more inestimable,

A great many *Inscriptions* are to be seen of the last and barbarous Ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium Hunc*. There are twenty three *Inscriptions* in the Garden of the *Fathers of Merry*, but so placed, it shews how little *People* who possess them do either understand or value them. I shall only give you one,



cause I made a little Reflection on it, tho' it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the *Criticks* have thought on it.

The *Inscription* is this, *D. M. Et Memoria Aeterna Sutia Anthidis. Quæ vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quædum Nimia pia fuit, facta est Impia: & Atitio Probatolo, Cecalius Calistio Conjugæ & Pater, & sibi vivo Ponendum curavit & sub ascia dedicavit.* This must be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the false Latin in *Nimia*; But the *Inscription* seems so extravagant, that a Man dedicating a Burial-stone for his Wife and Son, and under which himself was to be laid, with Ceremonies of Religion, should tax his Wife of Impiety, and give so extraordinary an Account of her becoming so through an Excess of Piety, that it deserves some Consideration.

It seems the *Impiety* was publick, otherwise a Husband would not have recorded it in such a Manner; and it is plain, that he thought it rose from an Excess of Piety.

I need not examine the Conjectures of others; but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your Censure.

It seems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a *Christian*; for the *Christians*, because they would not worship the Gods of the *Heathens*, nor participate with them in their sacred Rites, were accused both of *Atheism* and *Impiety*. This is so often objected, and the *Fathers* in their *Apologies* have answered it so often, that it were lost Labour to prove it: so this Wife of *Cecalius Calistio* having turned *Christian*, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the *Inscription*: But by it he gives an honourable Character of the *Christian Doctrine*, at the same Time that he seems to accuse it; that thro' an Excess of *Piety*, his Wife was carried to it: Since a Mind, seriously possessed with a true Sense of *Piety*, could not avoid the falling under a Distaste of *Paganism*, and the becoming *Christian*.

At *Grenoble*, there is not much to be seen, the learned Mr. *Chorier*, has some *Manuscripts* of considerable

Antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear Correction of a Passage that in all printed Editions is not Sense. In the Chapter of the Size of the Soldiers, he begins, *Scio semper mensuram à Mario Consule exactam*: *A.* is in no *M. S.* and *Mario Consule* is a Mistake for *trium Cubitorum*; for *III.* which are for *trium*, have been read, *M.* and *C.* which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a Mistake read, *Consule*; so the true reading of that Passage is, *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam*. He shewed me another *M. S.* of about five or six hundred Years old, in which *St. John's Revelation* is contained, all exemplified in *Figures*, and after that comes *Æsop's Fables* likewise, all designed in *Figures*, from which he inferred, that those who designed these two Books, valued both equally, and so put them together.

I will not describe the *Valley* of *Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a *Landskip* of the Country, which deserves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the Height and Rudeness of the Mountains, that almost shut upon it, together with the Beauty, the Evenness and Fruitfulness of the *Valley*, that is all along well watered with the River of *Lisjerre*, make such an agreeable Mixture, that this vast Diversity of Objects, that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining Prospect.

Chambery has nothing in it that deserves a long Description, and *Geneva* is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little *State*, but it has so many good *Constitutions* in it, that the greatest may justly learn of it. The *Chamber* of the *Corn* has always two Years Provision for the *City* in Store, and forces none but the *Bakers* to buy of it at a taxed Price; and so it is both necessary for any Extremities, under which the *State* may fall, and is likewise of great Advantage; for it gives a good yearly Income, that has helpt the *State* to pay near a *Million* of Debt contracted during the *Wars*; and the *Citizens* are not oppressed by it, for every *Inhabitant* may buy his own *Corn* as he pleases, only public

thro' SWITZERLAND.

3

Houses must buy from the *Chamber*. And if one will compare the *Faith* of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this Particular, he will be forced to prefer the Latter; for if good *Works* are a strong Presumption, if not a sure Indication of a good *Faith*, than *Justice*, being a good Work of the first Form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

At *Rome* the *Pope* buys in all the *Corn* of the *Patrimony*; for none of the *Lanlords* can sell it either to *Merchants* or *Bakers*. He buys it at five *Crowns* their Measure, and even that is slowly, and ill paid, so that there was 800000 *Crowns* owing upon that Score when I was at *Rome*. In selling this out, the Measure is lessened a fifth Part, and the Price of the whole is doubled, so that what was bought at five *Crowns*, is sold out at twelve; and if the *Bakers*, who are oblig'd to take a determin'd Quantity of *Corn* from the *Chamber*, cannot retail out all that is impos'd upon them, but are forced to return some Part of it back, the *Chamber* discounts to them only the first Price of five *Crowns*; whereas in *Geneva* the Measure by which they buy and sell is the same, and the Gain is so inconsiderable, that it is very little beyond the common Market-Price; so that upon the whole Matter, the *Chamber* of the *Corn* is but the Merchant to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate Gain by the *Corn*, that, and all the other Revenues of this small *Commonwealth*, are so well employed, that there is no Cause of Complaint given in the Administration of the publick Purse, which with the Advantages that arise out of the *Chamber* of the *Corn*, is about 100000 *Crowns* Revenue. But there is much to go out of this: 300 *Soldiers* are pay'd, an *Arsenal* is maintained, that, in proportion to the State, is the greatest in the World, for it contains Arms for more Men than are in the State: There is a great Number of *Ministers* and *Professors*, in all twenty-four pay'd out of it, besides all the publick Charges and Offices of the Government. Every one of the lesser Council of Twenty-five having a 100 *Crowns*, and every *Syndic* having 200 *Crowns* Pension: And after all this come the accidental Charges of the *Deputies*,
that

that they are oblig'd to send often to *Paris*, to *Savoy*, and to *Switzerland*, so that it is very apparent no Man can enrich himself at the Cost of the Publick. And the Appointments of the *little Council* are a very small Remuneration for the great Attendance that they are oblig'd to give the Publick, which is commonly four or five Hours a Day. The Salary for the *Professors* and *Ministers* is indeed small, not above 200 *Crowns*; but to ballance this (which was a more competent Provision when it was first set off 150 years ago, the Price of all things, and the Way of living being now much heightned) those Employments are here held in their due Reputation, and the richest *Citizens* in the *Town* breed up their *Children* so as to qualifie them for those Places. And a *Minister* that is suitable to his Character, is thought so good a Match, that geneaally they have such Estates either by Succession or Marriage, as support them suitably to the Rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a Regulation upon Expences of all sorts, that a small Sum goes a great way. It is a surprizing Thing to see so much Learning as one finds in *Geneva*; not only among those whose Profession obliges them to study, but among the *Magistrates* and *Citizens*, and if there are not many Men of the first Form of Learning among them, yet every Body almost here has a good Tincture of a learned Education, in so much, that they are *Masters* of the *Latin*, they know the *Controversies* of Religion and *History*, and they are generally Men of good Sense.

There is an universal *Civility*, not only toward *Strangers*, but towards one another, that reigns all the *Town* over, and leans to an Excess: So that in them one sees a Mixture of a *French* Openness, and an *Italian* Exactness: There is indeed a little too much of the last.

The publick *Justice* of the *City* is quick and good, and is more commended than the private *Justice* of those that deal in Trade: A want of Sincerity is much lamented by those that know the *Town* well. There is no publick Lewaness tolerated, and the Disorders of

that sort are managed with great Address. And notwithstanding their Neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little known among them: One of the best Parts of their *Law*, is the Way of selling *Estates*; which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called *Subhastation*, from the *Roman* Custom of selling *Subhasta*. A Man that is to buy an *Estate*, agrees with the Owner, and then intimates it to the *Government*; who order three several Proclamations to be made, six Weeks, one after another, of the intended Sale, that is to be on such a Day: When the Day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they apprehend that the *Estate* is sold at an under Value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpose, the Buyer delivers the Money to the *State*, which upon that, gives him his Title to the *Estate*, which can never be so much as brought under a Debate in *Law*; and the Price is payed into the *State*, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes Money, or to the Seller himself.

This Custom prevails likewise in *Swisse*, where also twelve Years Possession gives a Prescription; so that in no Place of the World are the Titles to *Estates* so secure as here. The Constitution of the *Government* is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the *Cantons*. The Sovereignty lies in the Council of 200 and this Council chuses out of its Number Twenty-five, who are the lesser Council; and the Censure of the Twenty-five belongs to the great Council: They are chosen by a sort of Ballos, so that it is not known for whom they give their Votes, which is an effectual Method to suppress Factions and Resentments; since in a Competition no Man can know who voted for him or against him; yet the Election is not so carried, but that the whole Town is in an Intrigue concerning it: For since that being of the little Council leads one to the *Sinditatz*, which is the chief Honour of the *State*; this Dignity is courted here with as active and solicitous an Ambition, as appears elsewhere for greater Matters. The 200 are chosen and censured by the Twenty-five, so that these two Councils, which are both for Life, are Checks

Checks one upon another. The *Magistracy* is in the one, and the *Sovereignty* in the other. The Number of Twenty-five is never exceeded in the *lesser Council*; but for the *Greater*, tho' it passes by the Name of the *Council* of 200, yet there are commonly eight or ten more, so that notwithstanding the Absence or Sicknes of some of the Number, they may still be able to call together near the full Number. There is another *Council* besides these two, composed of sixty, consisting of those of the 200 that have born *Offices*, such as *Auditors*, *Attorneys-Generals*, or those that have been in other Employments, which are given for a determinate Number of Years. This *Court* has no *Authority* but is called together by the Twenty-five, when any extraordinary Occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more general Concurrence in the Resolutions that they are about to form. And this *Council* is of the Nature of a *Council of State*, that only gives Advice, but has no Power in it self to enforce its Advice. The whole Body of the *Burgeses* chuse the *Sindics* the first Sunday of the Year, and there are some other *Elections* that do likewise belong to them. The Difference between the *Burgeses* and *Citizens* is, that the former Degree may be bought, or given to *Strangers*, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a *Citizen* but he that is the Son of a *Burges*, and that is born within the *Town*.

I need say no more of the Constitution of this little *Republick*; its chief Support is in the firm Alliance that has stood now so long between it and the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is so visibly the Interest of all *Switzerland* to preserve it, as the Key by which it may be all laid open, that if the *Cantons* had not forgotten their Interest so palpably, in suffering the *Fren* to become Masters of the *Franche Comte*, one would think that they would not be capable of suffering *G* *neva* to be touch'd: For all that can be done in fortifying the *Town*, can signify no more, but to put it in case to resist a Surprise, or Scalade; since if a *Royal Army* comes against it, to besiege it in form, it is co

tain, that unless the *Switzers* come down with a Force able to raise the Siege, those within will be able to make but a very short Resistance.

From *Geneva* I went thro' the Country of *Vaud*, or the *Valley*, and *Lausanne* its Chief Town, in my Way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lausanne* is situated on three Hills, so that the whole Town is Ascent and Descent, and that very steep, chiefly on the Side on which the Church stands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South-Wall of the Cross was so split by an Earthquake about thirty Years ago, that there was a Rent made from Top to Bottom above a Foot wide; which was so closed up ten Years after by another Earthquake, that now one only sees where the Breach was. This extravagant Situation of the Town, was occasioned by a Legend of some Miracles wrought near the Church; which prevailed so much on the Credulity of that Age, that by it the Church, and so in Consequence the Buildings near it, were added to the old Town, which stood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the High-way from the Lake into Switzerland, to which the chief Privileges of the Town, particularly the Judicature of Life and Death, do still belong. Between *Geneva* and this, lies the Lake, which at the one End is called the Lake of *Geneva*, and at the other the Lake of *Lausanne*. I need not mention the Dimensions of it, which are so well known; only in some Places the Depth has never been found, for it is more than five hundred Fathom. The Banks of the Lake are the beautifullest Plots of Ground that can be imagined; for they look as if they had been laid by Art, the Sloping is so easie and so equal, and the Grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delighting Prospect cannot be seen any where. The Lake is well stockt with excellent Fish; but their Numbers do sensibly decrease; one Sort is quite lost. It is not only to be ascrib'd to the Ravenousness of the Pikes that abound in it, but to another sort of Fish that they call *Mountails*, which were never taken in the Lake till within these six Years last past: They are

in the *Lake of Neuf-Châstel*, and some of the other *Lakes of Switzerland*, and it is likely that by some Conveyance under Ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this *Lake*. The Water of the *Lake* is all clear and fresh. It is not only a great Pond made by the *Rhofne*, that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixed, as some Travellers have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft Gale makes a Curling of the Waters in some Places, which runs smooth in the Places over which that soft Breath of Wind does not pass, the Gale varying its Place often, but it is believed, that there are also many great *Fountains* all over the *Lake*. These Springs do very probably flow from some vast Cavities that are in the neighbouring *Mountains*, which are as great *Cisterns*, that discharge themselves in the *Valleys*, which are covered over with *Lakes*: And on the two Sides of the *Alpes*, both *North* and *South*, there is so great a Number of those little *Seas*, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast Sources that feed so constantly those huge Ponds. And when one considers the Height of those *Hills*, the Chain of so many of them together, and their Extent both in Length and Breadth; if at first he thinks of the old Fables, of laying one Hill upon the Top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagine, according to the ingenious Conjecture of one that travelled over them oftner than once, that these cannot be the primary Productions of the *Author* of Nature; but are the vast Ruins of the first *World*, which at the *Deluge* broke here into so many Inequalities.

One Hill not far from *Geneva*, called *Maudit*, or *Cursed*, of which one third is always covered with Snow, is two Miles of perpendicular Height, according to the Observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher, *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at twenty-two Years of Age is already one of the greatest Men of his Age, and seems to be born to carry Learning some Sizes beyond what it has yet attained.

thro' SWITZERLAND. II

But now I will entertain you a little with the *State of Bern*; for that *Canton* alone is above a third Part of all *Switzerland*. I will say nothing of its Beginning nor History, nor will I enlarge upon the Constitution, which is well known. It has a *Council* of Two Hundred that goes by that Name, tho' it consists almost of three Hundred, and another of Twenty-five, as *Geneva*. The Chief *Magistrates* are two *Advoyers*, who are not annual, as the *Sindics* of *Geneva*, but are for Life; and have an Authority not unlike that of the *Roman Consuls*; each being his Year by Turns the *Advoyer* in Office. After them, there are the four *Bannerets*, who answer to the *Tribunes* of the People in *Rome*: Then come the two *Bursars* or *Treasurers*, one for the ancient *German Territory*, the other for the *French Territory*, or the Country of *Vaud*, and the two last chosen of the Twenty-five are called the *Secrets*; for to them all *Secrets* relating to the *State* are discovered; and they have an Authority of calling the two Hundred together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the *Magistracy*, the *Advoyers* themselves not excepted, as they see Cause; tho' this falls out seldom.

There are Seventy-two *Bailiages*, into which the whole *Canton* of *Bern* is divided; and in every one of those there is a *Bailiff* named by the *Council* of two Hundred, who must be a *Citizen* of *Bern*, and one of the two Hundred, to which *Council* no Man can be chosen till he is married: These *Bailiages* are *Employments* both of Honour and Profit; for the *Bailiff* is the *Governor* and *Judge* in that *Jurisdiction*, since tho' he has some *Assessors*, who are chosen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry Matters which way he will, against all their Opinions; and the *Bailiffs* have all the *Confiscations* and *Fines*, so that Drinking being so common in the Country, and that producing many Quarrels, the *Bailiff* makes his Advantage of all those Disorders; and in the six Years of his Government, according to the Quality of his *Bailiage*, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000 *Crowns* with him back to *Bern*; on which

he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage*; for one is capable of being twice *Bailiff*: But tho' some have been thrice *Bailiffs*, this is very extraordinary. The *Exactions* of the *Bailiff* are the only Impositions, or Charges, to which the *Inhabitants* are subjected, and these falling only on the Irregularities and Disorders of the more Debauched, makes that this Grievance, tho' in some particular Cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt; for a sober and regular Man is in no Danger. Many in this *Canton* are, as in *England*, Lords of *Castles* or *Manors*, and have a *Jurisdiction* annexed to their *Estates*, and name their *Magistrate*, who is called the *Castellan*. In matters of small Consequence there lies no *Appeal* from him to the *Bailiff*; but beyond the Value of two *Pistoles* an *Appeal* lies, and no Sentence of *Death* is executed till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies also an *Appeal* from the *Bailiff* to the *Council* at *Bern*. There are many Complaints of the Injustice of the *Bailiffs*; but their *Law* is short and clear, so that a Suit is soon ended; two or three Hearings is the most that even an intricate Suit amounts to, either in the first Instance before the *Bailiff*, or in the second Judgment at *Bern*. The *Citizens* of *Bern* consider these *Bailiages* as their Inheritance, and they are courted in this *State* perhaps with as much Intrigue, as was ever used among the *Romans* in the Distribution of their Provinces: And so little signify the best Regulations, when there are Intrinsic Diseases in a *State*, that tho' there is all possible Precaution used in the Nomination of these *Bailiffs*, yet that has not preserved this *State* from falling under so great a Mischief by those little Provinces; that as it has already, in a great measure, corrupted their Morals, so it may likely turn in Conclusion to the Ruin of this *Republick*. All the *Electors* give their Voices by *Ballot*, so that they are free from all After-Game in the Nomination of the Person. All the Kindred of the Pretenders, even to the remotest Degrees, are excluded from voting, as are also all their Creditors, so that none can vote but those who seem to have no Interest in

the Issue of the Competition; and yet there is so much Intrigue and so great a Corruption in the Distribution of those Employments, that the whole Business in which all *Bern* is ever in Motion, is the catching of the best *Bailiages*, on which a Family will have its Eye for many Years before they fall; for the *Counsellors* of *Bern*, give a very small Share of their Estates to their Children when they marry them; all that they propose is to make a *Bailiage* sure to them: For this, they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient Number of Votes; but it is the *Chamber* of the *Bannerets* that admits the Pretenders to the Competition. When the *Bailiff* is chosen, he takes all possible Methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few Crimes pass, that carry either Confiscations or Fines after them, his Justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the *Bailiage* may complain to the *Council* at *Bern*, as the oppressed *Provinces* did anciently to the *Senate* of *Rome*, and there have been severe Judgments against some very exorbitant *Bailiffs*; yet as Complaints are not made, except upon great Occasions, which are not often given by the *Bailiffs*, so it being the general Interest of the *Citizens* of *Bern* to make all possible Advantages of those Employments, the Censure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is crying.

In *Bern*, there is very little *Trade*, only what is necessary for the Support of the *Town*. They maintain *Professors* in the Universities of *Bern*, and *Lausanne*; the one for the *German Territory*, which is the ancient *Canton*, and the other for the new Conquest, which is the *French*. In the former there are about three hundred *Parishes*; in the latter there are but about one hundred and fifty: But in the *Benefices* of the *German Side*, the ancient Rights of the Incumbents are generally preserved so, that some *Benefices* are worth a Thousand *Crowns*; Whereas in the *Pais de Vaud*, the Provisions are set off as *Sallaries*, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred *Crowns*. It is visible that those of *Bern* trust more to the Affections

fections and Fidelity of their *Subjects*, than to the Strength of their *Walls*; for as they have never finished them, so what is built cannot be brought to a regular Fortification; and it is not preserved with any Care, nor furnished with *Cannon*: But if they have none on their Ramparts, they have good Store in their *Arsenal*, in which they say there are *Arms* for forty thousand Men.

The *Peasants* are generally rich, chiefly on the *German Side*, and are all well armed: They pay no Duties to the Publick; and the Soil is capable of great Cultivation; in which they succeed so well, that I was shewed some that were by Accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had of *Estate* to the Value of an hundred thousand *Crowns*; but that is not ordinary; yet ten thousand *Crowns* for a *Peasant* is no extraordinary Matter. They live much on their Milk and Corn, which in some Places, as about *Payer*n, yields an Increase of fifteen Measures after one: They breed many *Horses*, which bring them in a great deal of Money. The worst thing in the Country is, the Moisture of the *Air*, which is not only occasioned by the many *Lakes* that are in it, and the Neighbouring *Mountains* that are covered with *Snow*, some all the Summer long, and the rest till Mid-Summer; but by the vast Quantity of Woods of *Fir-trees*, which seem to fill very near the half of their Soil: And if these were for the most part rooted out, as they would have much more Soil, so their *Air* would be much purer; yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their Fuel, this cannot be done. I was told, that they had found Coal in some Places: If the Coal is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes and Rivers it can be easily carried over the Country, it may save them a great Extent of Ground, that as it is covered with Wood, so the Air becomes thereby the more unwholesome.

They have some Fountains of *Salt-water*, but the making Salt, consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any Account.

The Men are generally sincere, but heavy: They think it necessary to correct the Moisture of the Air with liberal Entertainments; and they are well furnished with all necessary Ingredients; for as their Soil produces good Cattle, so their Lakes abound in Fish, and their Woods in Fowl. the Wine is also light and good. The Women are generally imployed in their domestick Affairs; and the Wives even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the Concerns of the House and Kitchen, as much as the Wives of the meanest Peasants. Men and Women do not converse promiscuously together, and the Women are so much amused with the Management at home, and enter so little into Intrigues, that among them as an eminent Physician there told me, *they know not what Vapours are*, which he imputed to the Idleness and the Intrigues that abound elsewhere; whereas, he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their Labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much Thinking, nor did they know what Amours were. The third Adultery is punished with Death, which is also the Punishment of the fifth Act of Fornication; of which I saw an Instance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman, who confessed her self guilty of many Whoredoms, and designed to be revenged on some Men, that did not furnish her liberally with Money, was upon that condemned and executed. The Manner was solemn; for the *Advoyer* comes into an open Bench in the Middle of the Street, and for the Satisfaction of the People, the whole Process was read, and Sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all; the Counsellors both of the great and lesser Council standing about the *Advoyer*, who after Sentence took the Criminal very gently by the Hand and prayed for her Soul; and after Execution, there was a Sermon for the Instruction of the People.

The whole State is disposed for War; for every Man that can bear Arms is listed; and knows his Post and Arms; and there are Beacons, so laid over the Country, that the Signal can run over the whole Canton

Canton in a Night: And their Military *Lifts* are so laid, that every Man knows whether he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general Summons. They assured me at *Bern*, that upon a general Summons they could bring above eighty thousand Men together. The Men are robust and strong, and capable of great Hardship, and of good Discipline, and have generally an extream Sense of Liberty, and a great Love to their Country; but they labour under a want of Officers. And tho' the Subjects of the State are rich, yet the Publick is poor; they can well resist a sudden Invasion of their Country; but they would soon grow weary of a long War; and the Soil requires so much Cultivation, that they could not spare from their Labour the Men that would be necessary to preserve their Country. They were indeed as happy as a People could be, when the *Emperor* had *Alsace* on the one Hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comte* on the other, they had no Reason to fear their Neighbours; but now that both those *Provinces* are in the Hands of the *French*, the Case is quite altered; for as *Basil* is every Moment in Danger from the Garrison of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon-shot distant from it, so all the *Pais de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comte*, and has neither Fortified Places, nor good Passes to secure it; so that their Error in suffering this to fall into the Hands of the *French* was so gross, that I took some Pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this Account, that I had from one who was then in a very eminent Post, so that as he certainly knew the Secret, he seemed to speak sincerely to me. He told me, that the *Duke of Lorrain* had often moved in the Council of War, that the Invasion of *France* ought to be made on that Side, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified. This he repeated often, and it was known in *France* so that the *King* resolved to possess himself of the *Comte*, but used that Precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers* he offered a Neutrality on that Side; but the *Spaniards*, who judged right, that it was a

much

much the Interest of the *Cantons*, as it was theirs, to preserve the *Comte* in their Hands, refused to consent to it; but they took no care to defend it, and seemed to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while, the *French Money* went about very Liberally at *Bern*, and after those that were most likely to make Opposition were gained; the *French Minister* proposed to them the Necessity in which his Master found himself engaged to secure himself on that Side; but that still he would grant a Neutrality on their Account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this, all the Assurances that could be given in Words were offered to them, that they should never find the least Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*; but on the contrary, all possible Protection. There was just Cause given by the *Spaniards* to consider them very little in their Deliberation; for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor send a considerable Force to preserve the Country, so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the *French Proposition*; but one proposed that which an unbiass'd Assembly would certainly have accepted, that they should go themselves and take the Country; and by so doing, they would secure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to desire; and they might easily satisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburse themselves of the Expence of the Invasion, by restoring the Country to them when a general Peace should be made. He laid out the Misery to which their Country must be reduced by so powerful a Neighbour, but all was lost Labour; so he went out in a Rage, and published thro' the Town, that the State was sold, and all was lost. They now see their Error too late, and would repair it, if it were possible, but the Truth is, many of the particular Members of this State do so prey upon the Publick, that unless they do with one Consent reform those Abuses, they will never be in a Condition to do much; for in many of their *Bailiages*, of which some are *Abbeys*, the *Bailiffs* not only feed on the Subjects, but likewise on

the State, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the Publick Revenue, of which they are the Receivers, for their Reimbursement: Which made Mr. d'Erlack once say, when one of these Accounts was presented, *That it was very strange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks.* It is true, the Power of their *Bannerets* is so great, that one would think they might redress many Abuses. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our *Companies* of *London*, which are the *Bakers*, the *Butchers*, the *Tanners*, and the *Black-smiths*, and every *Citizen* of *Bern* does incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call *Abbeys*; for it is likely they were anciently a Sort of a Religious Fraternity. Every one of these chuses two *Bannerets*, who bear Office by Turns, from four Years, to four Years, and every one of them has a *Bailiage* annexed to his Office, which he holds for Life. They carry their Name from the *Banners* of the several *Abbeys*, as the *Gonfaloniers* of *Italy*; and the *Advoyers* carry still their Name from the ancient Titles *Ecdicus*, or *Advocate*, that was the Title of the Chief Magistrates of the *Towns* in the Times of the *Roman Emperors*. The Chamber of the four *Bannerets* that bear Office, has a vast Power, they examine and pass all Accounts, and they admit all the Competitors to any Offices, so that no Man can be proposed to the *Council* of two hundred, without their Approbation; and this being now the Chief Intrigue of their State, they have so absolute an Authority in shutting Men out from Employments, that their Office, which is for Life, is no less considerable than that of the *Advoyer*, tho' they are inferior to him in Rank. They manage Matters with great Address, of which this Instance was given me in a Competition for the *Advoyer*ship not long ago: there was one whose Temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those who were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his Kindred, nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other Competitor, whom they favoured, so they set

by a third Competitor, whose Kindred were the Persons that were made sure to him, whose Advancement they opposed, and by this Means they were all shut out from voting, so that the *Election* went according to the Design of the *Bannerets*. The chief Man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning *Advoyer* when I was there, is Mr. d'Erlack, who was Governor of *Brijack* and had a Brevet to be a *Mareschal of France*: This is one of the noblest Families in *Bern*, that acted a great Part in shaking off the *Austrian Tyranny*, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their Nobility: The present Head of it is a very extraordinary Man, he has a great Authority in his *Canton*, not only as he is *Advoyer*, but by the particular Esteem which is payed him. For he is thought the wisest and worthiest Man of the *State*, tho' it is somewhat Strange how he should bear such a Sway in such a Government; for he neither feasts, nor drinks with the rest. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a *Minister of State* in a *Monarchy*, than a *Magistrate* in a *Popular Government*. For one sees in him none of those Arts, that seem necessary in such a Government. He has a great Estate, and no Children; so he has no Projects for his Family; and does what he can to correct the Abuses of the *State*, tho' the disease is inveterate, and seems past cure.

He had a Misfortune in a *War* that was thirty Years ago, in the Year 1656. between the *Popish* and the *Protestant Cantons*: The Occasion of which will engage me in a short Digression. The Peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preserved by a *Law* agreed on among all the *Cantons*, that every *Canton* may make what Regulations concerning *Religion* they think fit, without prejudice to the *General League*: Now the *Popish Cantons* have made *Laws*, that it shall be capital to any to change their *Religion*, and on a set Day every Year they go all to Mass, and the *Masters of Families* swear to continue true to the *State*, and firm in their *Religion* to their Lives End; and so they pretend they punish

their falling into Heresie with Death and Confiscation of Goods, because it is a Violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other Hand, in the *Protestant Cantons*, such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the *Canton*; but for their Estates, they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful Spirit of the *Gospel* in the one, than in the other. In *two Cantons*, *Appenzel* and *Glaris*, both Religions are tolerated, and are capable of equal Privileges, and in some *Bailiages* that were conquered in common by the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the *Wars* with *Savoy*, the *two Cantons* name the *Bailiffs* by turns, and both Religions are so equally tolerated, that in the same *Church* they have both *Mass* and *Sermon*, so equally, that on *one Sunday*, the *Mass* begins, and the *Sermon* follows, and the next *Sunday*, the *Sermon* begins, and the *Mass* comes next, without the least Disorder or murmuring.

But in the Year 1656. some of the *Cantons* of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Estates were confiscated; and some others, that had also changed, but had not left the *Canton*, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Estates of the Refugees, but instead of granting this, the *Canton* of *Schwitz* demanded back their Subjects, that they might proceed against them as Delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the *Cantons* are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another *Canton* when they come among them, if they are demanded by the *Canton* to which they belong; but those of *Zurich* and *Bern*, thought this was both inhuman and unchristian, tho' the *Deputy* of *Basil* was of another Mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up; which extreemly disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Schwitz* committed some Insolences upon the Subjects of *Zurich*, and refused to give Satisfaction: Upon all which a *War* followed between the *Protestant* and *Popish Cantons*. The *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Army of five and twenty thousand Men, which was commanded by Mr. d'Erlack but was dispersed

in several Bodies : And the *Papists* had not above six thousand, yet they surprized Mr. *d'Erlack* with a body not much superior to theirs, both Sides after a short Engagement, run, the Cannon of the *Canton* of *Bern*, was left in the Field a whole Day, at last those of *Lucern* seeing that none stayed to Defend the Cannon carried them off ; this Loss raised such a Tumult in *Bern*, that they seem'd resolved to sacrifice Mr. *d'Erlack* ; but he came with such a Presence of Mind, and gave so satisfying an Account of the Misfortune that the Tumult ceased, and soon after the *War* ended. Upon this many thought, that tho' the *Papists* acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other *Canton* could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that Occasion. Within these few Years there were some Quarrels like to arise in the *Canton* of *Glaris*, where it was said, that the equal Privileges agreed on to both *Religions* were not preserved ; but on this Occasion the *Pope's Nuntio* acted a very different Part from that which might have been expected from him : For whereas the *Ministers* of that *Court* have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the Disputes that concern *Religion*, he acted rather the Part of a Mediator ; and whereas it was visible, that the Injustice lay on the Side of the *Papists*, he interposed so effectually with those of *Lucern*, which is the Chief of the *Papish Cantons*, that the Difference was composed.

But to return to *Bern*, the Buildings have neither great Magnificence, nor many Apartments ; but they are convenient, and suited to the Way of living in the Country. The *Streets* not only of *Bern* and bigger Towns, but even of the smallest Villages, are furnished with *Fountains* that run continually, which as they are of great Use, so they want not their Beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick ; but being built on the Top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the Ground began to fail, so to support it, they have raised a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church it self ; for there is a Platform

form made, which is a Square, to which the Church is one Side, and the further Side is a vast *Wall*, fortified with Buttresses about one hundred and fifty foot high. They told me, that all the Ground down to the Bottom of the Hill was dug into Vaults. This Plat-form is the chief Walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun-set; and the *River* underneath presents a very beautiful Prospect: For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills, but all along as this Cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs over a sloping Bank of Stone, which they say, was made at a vast Charge, and makes a noble and large *Cascade*.

The second Church is the *Dominicans Chapel*, where I saw the famous Hole that went to an *Image* in the Church, from one of the *Cells* of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to set down that Story at some length: For as it was one of the most signal Cheats that the World has known; so it falling about twenty Years before the *Reformation* was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the People to that Change. I am the more able to give a particular Account of it, because I read the *Original Process* in the *Latin Record*, signed by the *Notaries* of the Court of the *Delegates* that the *Pope* sent to try the Matter. The Record is above one hundred and thirty Sheets, writ Close, and of all Sides, it being indeed a large Volume; and I found the printed Accounts so defective, that I was at the Pains of reading the whole Process, of which I will give here a true Abstract.

The two famous *Orders* that had Possessed themselves of the Esteem of those dark Ages, were engaged in a mighty Rivalry. The *Dominicans* were the more learned, they were the eminentest Preachers of those Times, and had the Conduct of the Courts of *Inquisition*, and the other chief Offices of the Church in their Hands. But on the other Hand, the *Franciscans* had an outward Appearance of more Severity, a ruder Habit, stricter Rules, and greater Poverty: All which gave them such Advantages in the Eyes of the simple Multitude,

itude, as were able to ballance the other Honours of the *Dominican Order*. In short, the two *Orders* were engaged in a high Rivalry, but the Devotion towards the *Virgin* being the prevailing Passion of those Times, the *Franciscans* upon this had great Advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the Defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* Opinions, were thereby obliged to assert, that she was born in *Original Sin*; this was proposed to the People by the *Franciscans* as no less than *Blasphemy*, and by this the *Dominicans* began to lose Ground extreamly in the Minds of the People, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the *immaculate Conception*.

About the Beginning of the fifteenth Century, a *Franciscan* happened to preach in *Francfort*, and one *Wigand*, a *Dominican*, coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* seeing him, broke out into Exclamations, praising God that he was not of an *Order* that profaned the *Virgin*, or that poisoned *Princes* in the Sacrament, (for a *Dominican* had poisoned the Emperor *Henry the VII.* with the Sacrament.) *Wigand* being extreamly provoked with this bloody Reproach, gave him the Lie, upon which a Dispute arose, which ended in a Tumult that had almost cost the *Dominican* his Life, yet he got away. The whole *Order* resolved to take their Revenge, and in a *Chapter*, held at *Vimpfen*, in the Year 1504. they contrived a Method for supporting the Credit of their *Order*, which was much sunk in the Opinion of the People, and for bearing down the Reputation of the *Franciscans*: Four of the Juncto undertook to manage the Design; for they said, since the People were so much disposed to believe Dreams and Fables, they must Dream on their Side, and cheat the People as well as the other had done. They resolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the Project should be put in Execution; for they found the People of *Bern*, at that Time, apt to Swallow any Thing, and not disposed to make severe Enquiries into extraordinary Matters. When they had formed their Design, a fit
Tool

Tool presented it self; for one *Jetzer* came to take their *Habit* as a *Lay-brother*, who had all the Dispositions that were necessary for the Execution of their Project: For he was extream simple, and was much inclined to Austerities, so having observed his Temper well, they began to execute their Project the very Night after he took the *Habit*, which was on *Lady-day*, 1507. one of the *Friars* conveyed himself secretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in *Purgatory*, in a strange Figure, and he had a Box near his Mouth, upon which as he blew, Fire seemed to come out of his Mouth. He had also some Dogs about him, that appeared as his Tormentors: In this Posture he came near the *Frier*, while he was in Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they used to tell all their *Friers*, to beget in them a great Dread at the laying aside their *Habit*, which was, that one of the *Order*, who was Superior of their House at *Soloturn*, had gone to *Paris*, but laying aside his *Habit*, was killed in his *Lay-habit*. The *Frier* in the *Vizor* said, he was that Person, and was condemned to *Purgatory* for that Crime; but he added, that he might be rescued out of it by his Means, and he seconded this with most horrible Cries, expressing the Miseries which he suffered. The poor *Frier* (*Jetzer*) was excessively frightened, but the other advanced, and required a Promise of him to do that which he should desire of him, in order to the Delivering him out of his Torment: The frightened *Frier* promised all that he asked of him; then the other said, he knew he was a great *Saint*, and that his Prayers and Mortifications would prevail; but they must be very extraordinary. The whole *Monastery* must for a Week together Discipline themselves with a Whip, (and he must lie prostrate in the Form of one on a *Cross*,) in one of their *Chapels*, while Mass was said in the Sight of all that should come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he should find the Effects of the Love that the blessed

Virgin

Virgin did bear him, together with many extraordinary Things; and said, he would appear again, accompanied with two other Spirits; and assured him, that all that he did suffer for his Deliverance, should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come than the *Frier* gave an Account of this Apparition to the rest of the *Convent*, who seemed extreamly surprized at it, they all pressed him to undergo the Discipline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his Share; so the deluded *Frier* performed it all exactly in one of the *Chapels* of their *Church*: This drew a vast Number of Spectators together, who all considered the poor *Frier* as a Saint, and in the Mean while the four *Friers* that managed the Imposture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The *Frier's* Confessor was in the Secret, and by this Means they knew all the little Passages of the poor *Frier's* Life, even to his Thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the Matter. The Confessor gave him an *Hostie*, with a Piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a true Piece of the *Cross*, and by these he was to fortify himself, if any other Apparitions should come to him, since evil Sprits would be certainly chained up by them. The Night after that the former Apparition was renewed, and the masked *Frier* brought two others with him, in such Vizards, that the *Frier* thought they were Devils indeed. The *Frier* presented the *Hostie* to them, which gave them such a Check, that he was fully satisfied of the Virtue of this Preservative.

The *Frier*, that pretended he was suffering in *Purgatory*, said so many Things to him relating to the Secrets of his Life and Thoughts, which he had from the Confessor, that the poor *Frier* was fully possessed with the Opinion of the Reality of the Apparition. In two of these Apparitions, that were both managed in the same Manner, the *Frier* in the Masque talked much of the *Dominican Order*, which

he said was very dear to the blessed *Virgin*, who knew her self to be conceived in Original Sin, and that the *Doctors* who taught the contrary were in *Purgatory*: That the Story of *St. Bernard's* appearing with a Spot on him, for having opposed himself to the Feast of the Conception, was a Forgery; but that it was True, that some hideous Flies had appeared on *St. Bonaventures* Tomb, who taught the contrary. That the blessed *Virgin* abhorred the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son; that *Scotus* was damned, whose Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting hard at *Rome*; and that the Town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such Plagues within their Walls. When the enjoined Discipline was fully performed, the *Spirit* appeared again, and said, he was now delivered out of *Purgatory*, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and after that he would say Mass for those, who had by their great Charities rescued him out of his Pains. The *Frier* fancied the Voice resembled the *Prior's* a little; but he was then so far from suspecting any Thing, that he gave no great heed to this Suspicion. Some Days after this, the same *Frier* appeared as a *Nun* all in Glory, and told the poor *Frier*, that she was *St. Barbary*, for whom he had a particular Devotion; and added, that the blessed *Virgin* was so much pleased with his Charity, that she intended to come and visit him: He immediately called the *Convent* together, and gave the rest of the *Friers* an Account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great Joy; and the *Frier* languished in Desires of the Accomplishment of the Promise that *St. Barbary* had made him. After some Days the longed for *Devilusion* appeared to him, clothed as the *Virgin* used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits: There were about her some *Angels*, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of *Angels*, which they set on the Altars on the great Ho-

4y Days. There was also a Pully fastned in the Room over his Head, and a Cord tied to the Angels, that made them rise up in the Air, and flie about the *Virgin*, which encreased the Delusion. The *Virgin*, after some some Endearments to himself, extolling the Merit of his Charity and Discipline, told him, that she was conceived in Original Sin, and that *Pope Julius the second*, that then reigned, was to put an End to the Dispute, and was to abolish the Feast of her Conception, which *Sixtus the fourth* had instituted, and that the *Frier* was to be the Instrument of persuading the *Pope* of the Truth in that Matter. She gave him three Drops of her Son's Blood, which were three Tears of Blood that he had shed over *Jerusalem*; and this signified that she was three Hours in Original Sin, after which she was, by his Mercy, delivered out of that State: For it seems the *Dominicans* were resolved so to compound the Matter, that they should gain the main Point of her Conception in Sin; yet they would comply so far with the Reverence for the *Virgin*, with which the World was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five Drops of Blood in the Form of a Cross, which were Tears of Blood, that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented an *Hostie* to him, that appeared as an ordinary *Hostie*, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep Red Colour. The Cheat of those supposed Visits was often repeated to the abused *Frier*; at last the *Virgin* told him, that she was to give him such Marks of her Son's Love to him, that the Matter should be past all Doubt. She said, that the five Wounds of *St. Lucia* and *St. Catherine* were real Wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him; so she bid him reach his Hand. He had no great Mind to receive a Favour in which he was to suffer so much; but she forced his Hand, and struck a Nail thro' it: The Hole was as big as a

Grain of Pease, and he saw the Candle clearly thro' it; this threw him out of a supposed Transport into a real Agony; but she seemed to touch his Hand, and he thought he smelt an Ointment, with which she anointed it, tho' his Confessor perswaded him, that that was only an Imagination: So the supposed *Virgin* left him for that Time.

The next Night the Apparition returned, and brought some Linnen Cloths, which had some real or imaginary Virtue to allay his Torment: And the pretended *Virgin* said, they were some of the Linnens in which Christ was wrapped, and with that she gave him a soporiferous Draught, and while he was fast asleep, the other four Wounds were imprinted on his Body, in such a Manner that he felt no Pain.

But in order to the doing of this, the *Friers* betook themselves to Charms, and the *Sub Prior* shewed the rest a Book full of them; but he said, that before they could be effectual, they must renounce God, and he not only did this himself, but by a formal Act put in Writing, signed with his Blood, he dedicated himself to the Devil: It is True he did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The Composition of the Draught was a Mixture of some Fountain-water and Chrism, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, some Quicksilver, some Grains of Incense, somewhat of an *Easter Wax-Candle*, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptized Child. This Composition was a Secret which the *Sub Prior* did not communicate to the other *Friers*. By this the poor *Frier*, *Jetzer*, was made almost quite insensible: When he was awake, and came out of this deep Sleep, he felt this wonderful Impression on his Body, and now he was ravished out of Measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the Parts of our Saviour's Passion: He was exposed to the People on the great Altar, to the Amazement of the whole Town, and to the no small Mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans*

cans gave him some other Draughts that threw him into Convulsions, and when he came out of those, a Voice was heard, which came thro' that *Hole* which yet remains, and runs from one of the *Cells* along a great Part of the Wall of the *Church*; for a *Frier* spoke thro' a Pipe, and at the End of the *Hole* there was an *Image* of the *Virgin's*, with a little *Jesus* in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice seemed to come; the *Image* also seemed to shed Tears, and a Painter had drawn those on her Face so lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little *Jesus* askt, why she wept? And she said, it was because his Honour was given to her, since it was said, that she was born without Sin. In Conclusion, the *Friers* did so over-act this Matter, that at last even the poor deluded *Frier* himself came to discover it, and resolved to quit the *Order*.

It was in vain to delude him with more *Apparitions*; for he well-nigh kill'd a *Frier* that came to him personating the *Virgin* in another Shape, with a Crown on her Head: He also overheard the *Friers* once talking amongst themselves of the Contrivance and the Success of the Imposture so plainly, that he discovered the whole Matter, and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the Horror with which such a Discovery could inspire him.

The *Friers* fearing that an Imposture, which was carried on hitherto with so much Success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest Way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what Esteem he would be, if he continued to support the Reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chief Person of the *Order*; and in the End they persuaded him to go on with the Imposture: But at last, they fearing lest he should discover all, resolved to poyson him; of which he was so apprehensive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with some Spices, he kept it for some time, and it growing green, he threw it
to

to some young Wolves Whelps that were in the Monastery, who died immediately. His Constitution was also so vigorous, that tho' they gave him Poyson five several Times, he was not destroyed by it. They also prest him earnestly to renounce God, which they judged necessary, that so their Charms might have their Effect on him; but he would never consent to that: At last they forced him to take a poysoned *Hostie*, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it down. That failing, they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that to avoid further Torment he swore to them, in a most imprecating Stile, that he would never discover the Secret, but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them till he found an Opportunity of getting out of the *Convent*, and of throwing himself into the Hands of the *Magistrates*, to whom he discovered all.

The four *Friers* were seized on, and put in Prison, and an Account of the whole Matter was sent, first to the *Bishop of Lausanne*, and then to *Rome*; and it may be easily imagined, that the *Franciscans* took all possible Care to have it well examined. The *Bishop of Lausanne*, and of *Lyon*, with the *Provincial* of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Process. The four *Friers* first excepted to *Fetzer's* Credit; but that was rejected: Then being threatned with the *Question*, they put in a long Plea against that; but tho' the *Provincial* would not consent to that, yet they were put to the *Question*: Some endured it long; but at last, they all confessed the whole Progress of the Imposture. The *Provincial* appeared concerned; for tho' *Fetzer*, had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no Credit to him; on the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them. And one of the *Friers* said plainly, that he was in the whole Secret; and so he withdrew, but he died some Days after at *Constance*, having poyson'd himself, as was believed. The Matter lay asleep some time;

time; but a Year after that, a *Spanish Bishop* came, authorized with full Power from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four *Friers* were solemnly degraded from their *Priesthood*, and eight Days after, it being the last of *May*, 1509. they were burnt in a Meadow, on the other Side of the River, over against the great Church. The Place of their Execution was shewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, thro' which the Voice was convey'd to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best carried on Cheats, that has been ever known; and no doubt had the poor *Frier* died before the Discovery, it had passed down to Posterity as one of the greatest Miracles that ever was, and it gives a shrewd Suspicion, that many of the Miracles of that Church were of the same Nature, but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any further with the State of *Bern*, but shall only add one general Remark, which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve particular Reflection; it belongs in general to all the Cantons, but I give it here, because I had more Occasion to make it in *Bern*, having seen it more, and stayed longer in it, than in the other Cantons.

Switzerland lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more rich, and better furnish'd with all the Pleasures and Conveniences of Life than it is; and yet *Italy* is almost quite dispeopled, and the People in it are reduced to a Misery that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it; and *France* is in a great Measure dispeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to Poverty that appears in all the Marks in which it can shew it self, both in their Houses, Furniture, Clothes and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of people, and in several Places in the Villages, as well as in their Towns, one sees all the Marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth; their Houses and Win-

Windows are in good case, the High-ways are all well maintained, all People are well clothed, and every one lives at his Ease. This Observation surprized me yet more in the *Country of the Grisons*, who have almost no Soil at all, being situated in *Vallies*, that are almost all washed away with the Torrents, that fall down from the *Hills*, and swell their Brooks sometimes so violently, and so suddenly, that in many Places the whole Soil is washed away, and yet those *Vallies*; are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at Ease, under a gentle Government, whilst other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to such Misery, that, as many of the Inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, so those who stay behind can scarce live and pay those grievous Impositions that are laid upon them; the rude People generally Reason very simple when they enter into Speculations of Government, but they feel true, tho' they argue false; so an easie Government, tho' joined to an ill Soil, and accompanied with great Inconveniencies, draws, or at least keeps People in it, whereas a severe Government, tho' in general Ideas it may appear reasonable, drives its Subjects even out of the best and most desirable Seats.

In my Way from *Bern*, to this Place, I passed by *Soloturn*, and I came thro' *Fribourg* in my Way from *Lausanne* to *Bern*, these are two of the Chief of the *Popish Cantons*, after *Lucerne*; and one sees in them a Heat, and Bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*; long before they come within the Church Doors, they kneel down in the Streets when *Mass* is saying in it. The Images are also extremely gross. In the Chief Church of *Soloturn* there is an Image of God the Father, as an old Man with a great black Beard, having our Saviour on his Knees, and a Pigeon over his Head. Here also begins a Devotion at the *Ave-Maria-Bell*, which is scarce known in *France*, but is practised all *Italy* over: At Noon and at Sun-set the Bell rings, and all say the *Ave-Maria*, and a short Prayer to the *Virgin*; but where

as in *Italy* they content themselves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the most part kneel down in the Streets, which I saw no where practised in *Italy* except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithstanding this extreme Bigotry, all the *Switzers* see their common Interest so well, that they live in a very good Understanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the *Canton* of *Lucern*, where there is a Spirit in the Government very different from what is in most of the other *Popish Cantons*: The Residence of the *Spanish Ambassador*, and of the *Nuncio*, in that Town contributes also much to the preserving it in so good a Temper, it being their Interest to unite *Switzerland*, and by this Means the Heat and Indiscretion of the rest is often moderated: The *Jesuits* begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elsewhere: They have a Noble College and Chapel, situated in the best Place of *Friburg*. It is not long since they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a Revenue of one thousand *Livers* a Year, set off for the Maintenance of ten of them, with this Provision, that they should never exceed that Number; but where they are once settled, they find Means to break thro' all Limitations, and they are now become so rich there, that they are raising a Church and College, which will cost before it is finished above four hundred thousand *Livers*, to which the *French King* gives ten thousand *Livers* for the Frontis-piece: For this being the *Canton* in which his *Ambassador* resides, he thought it suitable to his Glory, to have a Monument of his Bounty raised by an Order, that will never be wanting to flatter their Benefactors as long as they find their Account in it.

In the same *Canton*, there is an *Abbey* that has an hundred thousand *Livers* of Revenue; there is also a very rich House of *Nuns* in it, that wear the *Capuchins Habit*, that as I was told had sixty thousand *Livers* of Revenue, and but sixty *Nuns* in it,

who having thus a thousand *Livers* apiece, may live in all possible Plenty in a Country where a very little Money goes a great way: But that which surprizes one most at *Soloturn*, is, the great Fortification that they are building of a *Wall* about the Town, the noblest and solidest that is any where to be seen; the Stone with which it is faced, is a sort of coarse Marble, but of that Bigness, that many Stones are ten Foot long and two Foot of Breadth and Thickness: But tho' this will be a Work of vast Expence and great Beauty, yet it would signifie little against a great Army that would attack it vigorously. The *Wall* is finished on the Side of the *River* on which the Town stands, the *Ditch* is very broad, and the *Counterfearp* and *Glasier* are also finished, and they are working at a Fort on the other Side of the *River*, which they intend to fortify in the same Manner. This has cost them near two Millions of *Livers*, and this vast Expence has made them often repent the Undertaking; and it is certain, that a Fortification that is able to resist the Rage of their Peasants in the Case of a Rebellion is all that is needful. This Canton has two *Advoyers*, as *Bern*; the little Council consists of Thirty-six; they have Twelve *Bailiages* belonging to them, which are very profitable to those that carry them; they have one *Bursar*, and but one *Banneret*. All the Cantons have their *Bailiages*; but if there are Disorders at *Bern* in the Choice of their *Bailiffs*, there are far greater among the *Popish Cantons*, where all Things are sold, as a *Foreign Minister* that resides there, told me, who tho' he knew what my Religion was, did not stick to own frankly to me, that the *Catholick Cantons* were not near so well governed as the *Protestant Cantons*. Justice is generally sold among them, and in their Treaties with Foreign Princes, they have sometimes taken Money both from the *French* and *Spanish Ambassadors*, and have signed contradictory *Articles* at the same Time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient Situation, which makes it the Seat of the *General Dyet* of the *Cantons*, tho' it is not one of them, but is a *Bailiage* that belongs in common to eight of the ancient *Cantons*. At last I came to this Place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the *Cantons*, so with Relation to us, it has a Precedence of a higher Nature, it being the *first* that received the *Reformation*.

This *Canton* is much less than *Bern*, yet the Publick is much richer: They reckon that they can bring fifty thousand Men together upon twenty four Hours warning: Their Subjects live happy; for the *Bailiffs* here have regulated Appointments, and have only the *hundred Penny* of the Fines, so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely, to strain Matters against their Subjects: And whereas at *Bern* the constant Intrigue of the whole *Town* is concerning their *Bailiages*, here, on the contrary, it is a Service to which the *Citizens* are bound to submit according to their Constitution, but to which they do not aspire: The Government is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the *Magistrate* that is called the *Advoyer* at *Bern*, is here called the *Bourromaster*. The Revenue of the State is here justly accounted for, so that the Publick Purse is much richer than at *Bern*; the *Arsenal* is much better furnished, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great Trade stirring here; and as their Lake, that is twenty four Miles long, and about two or three broad, supplies them well with Provisions, so their *River* carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their chief Manufacturies is *Crape*, which is in all Respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe the Situation of the *Town*, but shall content my self to tell you, that it is extream pleasant; the Country about it is *Mountainous*, and the *Winters* are hard; for the *Lake* freezes quite over, only in some Places the Ice never lies, which is believed a Mark

that some *Springs* rise there, which cause that Heat; so also in the *Lake of Geneva*, tho' it is never quite frozen, yet great Flakes of Ice lie in several Parts; but these are never seen in some Parts of the *Lake*, which is supposed to flow from the same Cause.

But to return to *Zurich*; one sees here the true ancient Simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with Luxury and Vanity; their Women not only do not converse familiarly with Men, except those of their near Kindred, but even on the Streets do not make any Returns to the Civility of Strangers; for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women; but they make no Courtesies: And here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not saluted, but the Civility is express'd by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing singular in the Constitution of *Zurich*, that is, their *little Council* consists of fifty Persons, but there sit in it only twenty-five at a time, and so the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper *Burgomaster*, have also the Government in their Hands by turns, and they shift every six Months, at *Midsummer* and at *Christmas*. The whole Canton is divided into nine great *Bailiages*, and twenty-one *Castellanaries*; in the former the *Bailiff* resides constantly; but the *Castellan*, who is also one of the great Council, has so little to do, that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at some set Times of the Year to do Justice.

The Virtue of this Canton has appear'd signally in their adhering firmly to the ancient Capitulations with the *French*, and not slackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a sovereign Influence; but here it has never prevail'd. They have converted the ancient Revenues of the Church more generally to pious Uses than has been done any where else that I know of. They have many *Hospitals* well entertain'd; in one, as I was told there was six hundred and fifty Poor kept: But as they support the real Charities which belong to such Endowments, so they despise that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is too generally affected

elsewhere

elsewhere ; for theirs are very plain, and one of the Government there said to me very sensibly, *That they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor ; and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.*

The *Dean* and *Chapter* are likewise still continu'd as a Corporation, and enjoy the *Revenues* which they had before the *Reformation* : But if they subsist plentifully, they labour hard ; for they have generally two or three Sermons a Day, and at least one : The first begins at five a-Clock in the Morning. At *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were substituted upon the *Reformation* from the Mass. But the Sermons are generally too long, and the Preachers have departed from the first Design of these Sermons, which were intended to be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it ; and if this were so contriv'd, that it were in all not above a quarter of an Hour long, as it would be heard by the People without Weariness and more Profit, so it would be a vast Advantage to the Preachers ; for as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having once made themselves Masters of the practical Parts of the Scriptures, such short and simple Discourses would cost them less Pains than those more labour'd Sermons do, which consume the greatest Part of their Time, and too often to very little Purpose.

Among the *Archives* of the *Dean* and *Chapter*, there is a vast Collection of *Letters*, written either to *Bullinger*, or by him : They are bound up in a great many Volumes in *Folio*, and out of these, no doubt but one might discover a great many Particulars relating to the *History of the Reformation* : For as *Bullinger* liv'd long, so he was much esteem'd. He procur'd a very kind Reception to be given to some of our *English* Exiles in *Queen Mary's* Reign, in particular to *Sands*, afterwards *Archbishop* of *York* ; to *Horn*, afterwards *Bishop* of *Winchester* ; and to *Jewel*, *Bishop* of *Salisbury*. He gave them Lodgings in the *Close*, and used them with all possible Kindness ; and

as they presented some *Silver Cups* to the College, with an Inscription, acknowledging the kind Reception they had found there, which I saw, so they continu'd to keep a constant Correspondence with Bullinger, after the happy Re-establishment of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth; of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain only the general News, but some were more important, and relate to the Disputes then on foot, concerning the *Habits of the Clergy*, which gave the first Beginnings of our unhappy Divisions; and by the Letters, of which I read the *Originals*, it appears, that the Bishops preserv'd the ancient *Habits* rather in compliance with the Queen's Inclinations, than out of any Liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them, that they plainly express'd their Dislike of them. Jewel, in a Letter, bearing date the 8th of February, 1566. wishes, That the Vestments, together with all the other Remnants of Popery, might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the Minds of the People; and laments the Queen's Fixedness to them, so that she would suffer no Change to be made. And in January of the same Year, Sands writes to the same Purpose, *Contenditur de vestibus Papisticis utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quaeque finem*. Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish Vestments, whether they shall be used or not; but God will put an end to those things. Horn, Bishop of Winchester, went further; for in a Letter, dated the 16th of July, 1565. he writes of the Act concerning the *Habits* with great Regret, and expresses some Hopes that it might be repealed next Session of Parliament, if the Popish Party did not hinder it; and he seems to stand in no doubt, whether he should conform to it or not; upon which he desires Bullinger's Advice. and in many Letters writ on that Subject, it is asserted, that both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an Act for abolishing the *Habits*, and that they only defended their Lawfulness, but not their Fitness; and therefore they blam'd private Persons

that refused to obey the Laws. *Grindal*, in a *Letter* dated the 27th of *August*, 1566. writes, That all the *Bishops*, who had been beyond Sea, had at their Return dealt with the *Queen* to let the Matter of *Habits* fall; but she was so prepossess'd, that tho' they had all endeavour'd to divert her from prosecuting that Matter, she continu'd still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the *Laws*, and to wait for a fit Opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill Effects of the Opposition that some had made to them, which had extreamly irritated the *Queen's* Spirit, so that She was now much more heated in those Matters than formerly; he also thanks *Bullinger* for the *Letter* that he had writ, justifying the *Lawful Use* of the *Habits*, which he says had done great Sevice. *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, in one of his *Letters*, laments the Aversion that they found in the *Parliament* to all the *Propositions* that were made for the Reformation of Abuses. *Jewel*, in a *Letter* dated the twenty-second of *May*, 1559. writes, That the *Queen* refused to be called *Head of the Church*, and adds, That that *Title* could not be justly given to any Mortal, it being due only to *Christ*; and that such *Titles* had been so much abused by *Anti-christ*, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these *Passages* I will make no Reflections here: For I set them down only to shew what was the Sense of our chief *Church-men* at that Time concerning those Matters, which have since engaged us into such warm and angry *Disputes*; and this may be no inconsiderable instruction to one that intends to write the *History* of that Time. The last Particular, with which I intend to End this *Letter*, might seem a little too learned, if I were Writing to a less knowing Man than your self. I have taken some Pains in my *Travels* to examine all the ancient *Manuscripts* of the *New Testament*, concerning that doubted Passage of *St. John's* Epistle, There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are one. *Bullinger* doubted much of it, because he found it not in an ancient *Latin Manuscript* at *Zurich*; which

which seems to be about eight hundred Years old : For it is written in that *Hand* that began to be used in *Charles the Great's* Time. I turned the *Manuscript*, and found the *Passage* was not there ; but this was certainly the Error or Omission of the Copier : For before the *General Epistles* in that *Manuscript*, the *Preface* of *St. Jerome* is to be found, in which he says, that he was the more exact in that *Translation*, that so he might discover the Fraud of the *Arrians*, who had struck out that *Passage* concerning the *Trinity*. This *Preface* is printed in *Lira's Bible* ; but how it came to be left out by *Erasmus*, in his Edition of that *Father's Works*, is that of which I can give no Account : For as on the one Hand, *Erasmus's* Sincerity ought not to be too rashly censured ; so on the other Hand, that *Preface* being in all the *Manuscripts*, Ancient or Modern, of those *Bibles* that have the other *Prefaces* in them, that I ever yet saw, it is not easy to imagine what made *Erasmus* not to publish it ; and it is in the *Manuscript Bibles* at *Basil*, where he printed his Edition of *St. Jerome's Works*. In the old *Manuscript Bible* of *Geneva*, that seems to be above seven hundred Years old, both the *Preface* and the *Passage* are extant, but with this Difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions set the Verse concerning the *Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of the *Water, the Blood, and the Spirit* ; which comes after it in this Copy : And that I may in this Place end all the Readings, I found of this *Passage* in my Travels, there is a *Manuscript* in *St. Mark's Library* in *Venice* in three Languages, *Greek, Latin, and Arabick*, that seems not above four hundred Years old, in which this *Passage* is not in the *Greek*, but it is in the *Latin*, set after the other Three, with a *sicut* to join it to what goes before. And in a *Manuscript Latin Bible* in the Library of *St. Lawrence* at *Florence*, both *St. Jerome's Preface* and this *Passage* are extant ; but this *Passage* comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *sicut* as is that of *Venice*, yet *sicut* is not in the *Geneva Manuscript* : There are two *Greek Manuscripts* of the

pistles at Basil, that seem to be about five hundred Years old, in neither of which this Passage is to be found: They have also an ancient *Latin Bible*, which was about eight hundred Years old, in which, tho' *St. Jerome's Prologue* is inserted, yet this Passage is wanting. At *Strasburg*, I saw four very ancient Manuscripts of the *New Testament* in *Latin*: Three of these seemed to be about the Time of *Charles the Great*, but the fourth seemed to be much ancients, and may belong to the seventh Century: In it neither the *Prologue* nor the Place is extant; but it is added at the Foot of the Page with another Hand. In two of the other, the *Prologue* is extant, but the Place is not: Only in one of them it is added in the Margin. In the fourth, as the *Prologue* is extant, so is the Place likewise, but it comes after the Verse of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *Sicut tres sunt in cælo*.

It seem'd strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the *Vatican Library* there are no ancient *Latin Bibles*, where above all other Places they ought to be lookt for; but I saw none above four hundred Years old. There is indeed the famous *Greek Manuscript*, of great Value, which the *Chanoine Shelfrat*, that was Library-keeper, asserted to be one thousand four hundred Years old, and proved it by the great Similitude of the Characters with those that are upon *St. Hippolite's Statue*, which is so evident, that if the Statue was made about his Time, the Antiquity of this Manuscript is not to be disputed. If the Characters are not so fair, and have not all the Marks of Antiquity that appears in the King's Manuscript at *St. James's*, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The Passage that has led me into this Digression, is not to be found in the *Vatican Manuscript*, no more than it is in the King's Manuscript: And with this I will finish my Account of *Zurich*. The publick Library is very noble: The Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived: There is a very handsome Cabinet of Medals. And so I will break off; but when I have gone so much farther, that I have gathered Ma-

materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a second Entertainment, such as it is, from

Yours &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I told you, that in *Bern* the *Bailiages* are given by a sort of a *Ballot*, which is so managed, that no Man's *Vote* is known; but I must now add, that since I was first there, they have made a considerable Regulation in the way of *Voting*, when Offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian Method*, and which exposes the Competitors more to chance, and by consequence, may put an End to the Intrigues that are so much in Use for obtaining those Employments. There is a Number of *Balls* put into a Box, equal to the Number of those that have right to vote, and that are Present; of these the third Part is gilt, and two Parts are only silver'd, so every one takes out a *Ball*, but none can vote except those who have the gilt *Balls*; so that hereafter a Man may have more than two Thirds sure, and yet be cast in a Competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular those of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever since the *Persecution* began first in *France*, opened a *Sanctuary* to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so *Christian* a Manner, that it deserves all the honourable *Remembrances* that can be made of it: Such *Ministers* and others, that were at first condemned in *France*, for the *Affair* of the *Cevennes*, have not only found a kind Reception here, but all the Support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in Reason expected. For they have assigned the *French Ministers*, a Pension of five *Crowns* a Month, if they were unmarried, and have increased it to such as had Wives and Children, so that some had above ten *Crowns* a Month Pension. They dispersed them over all the *Pais de Vaud*; but the greatest Number stay'd at *Lausanne* and *Nevay*.

order

order to the supporting of this Charge, the Charities of Zurich, and the other neighbouring Protestant States, were brought hither. Not only the Protestant Cantons, but the Grisons, and some small States that are under the Protection of the Cantons, such as Neuchâtel, St. Gall, and some others, have sent in their Charities to Bern, who dispence them with great Discretion, and bear what further Charge this Relief brings upon them; and in this last total and deplorable Disperſion of those Churches, the whole Country has been animated with such a Spirit of Charity and Compassion, that every Man's House and Purſe has been opened to the Refugees, that have passed thither in such Numbers, that sometimes there have been above two thousand in Lausanne alone, and of these there were at one Time near two hundred Ministers, and they all met with a Kindness and Freeheartedness, that lookt more like somewhat of the Primitive Age revived, than the Degeneracy of the Age in which we live.

I shall conclude this *Postscript*, which is already swelled to the Bigness of a Letter, with a sad Instance of the Anger and Heat that rises among Divines concerning Matters of very small Consequence.

The middle Way that Amiral, Daille, and some others in France took in the Matters that were disputed in Holland, concerning the Divine Decrees, and the Extent of the Death of Christ, as it came to be generally followed in France, so it had some Assertors both in Geneva and Switzerland, who denied the Imputation of Adam's Sin, and asserted the Universality of Christ's Death, together with a sufficient Grace given to all Men, asserting with this a Particular and free Decree of Election, with an efficacious Grace for those included in it: These came to be called Universalists, and began to grow very considerable in Geneva: Two of the Professors of Divinity there, being known to favour those Opinions. Upon this, those who adhered strictly to the opposite Doctrine were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that Height, that almost the whole Town came to be concern'd, and all were divided into

Parties. If upon this, the *Magistrates* had enjoined Silence to both Parties, they had certainly acted wisely; for those are *Speculations* so little certain, and so little essential to *Religion*, that a Diversity of Opinions ought not to be made the Occasion of Heat or Faction. But tho' the *Party* of the *Universalists* was considerable in *Geneva*, it was very small in *Switzerland*; therefore some *Divines* there, that adhered to the old received *Doctrine*, drew up some *Articles*, in which all these *Doctrines* were not only condemned, together with some few *Speculations*, that were asserted concerning *Adam's Immortality*, and other Qualities belonging to the State of Innocency; but because *Capel* and some other *Criticks* had not only asserted the Novelty of the Points, but had taken the Liberty to correct the reading of the *Hebrew*, supposing that some Errors had been committed by the *Copiers* of the *Bible*, both in the *Vowels* and *Consonants*, in opposition to this, they condemned all Corrections of the *Hebrew Bible*, and asserted the Antiquity of the Points, or at least of the Power and reading according to them; by which, tho' they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf's* Opinion, as to the Antiquity of the Points, yet they shut the Door against all Corrections of the present *Punctuation*. If this Consent of *Doctrine* (for so they termed it) had been made only the Standard, against which no Man might have taught, without incurring Censures, the Severity had been more tolerable; but they obliged all such as should be admitted either to the *Ministry*, or to a *Professor's* Chair, to sign *sic sentio*, so I think; and this being so settled at *Bern* and *Zurich*, it was also carried by their Authority at *Geneva*; but for those in Office, the *Moderator* and *Clerk* signed it in all their Names: And thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in those Matters, but they would needs, according to a Maxim that hath been so often fatal to the *Church*, enter into Peoples Conscience, and either shut out young Men from *Employments*, or impose a *Test* upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without Strugglings in their Conscience: Yet

some that set on this *Test* or Consent, are Men of such extraordinary Worth, that I am confident they have acted in this Matter out of a sincere Zeal for that which they believe to be the Truth, only I wish they had larger and freer Souls.

The only considerable *Tax* under which the *Switzers* lie, is, that when *Estates* are sold, the *fifth* Part of the Price belongs to the Publick, and all the Abatement that the *Bailiff* can make, is to bring it to a *sixth* Part; this they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *Alodium*: Only there are some Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this *Tax*; but this falling only on the *Sellers* of *Estates*, it was thought a just Punishment, and a wise Restraint on ill *Husbands* of their *Estates*.

I was the more confirmed in the Account I have given you of the Derivation of *Advoyer*, when I found that in some small *Towns* in the *Canton* of *Bern*, the chief *Magistrate* is still so called; as in *Payern*; so that I make no Doubt, but as the ancient *Magistrates* in the Time of the *Romans*, that were to give an Account of the Town, were called *Advocates*; and afterwards the *Judge* in Civil Matters, that was named by the *Bishops*, was called at first *Advocate*, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*; so this was the *Title* that was still continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Austrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too slightly the last Difference that was in *Switzerland*, which related to the *Canton* of *Glaris*. In the *Canton* of *Appenzel*, as the two *Religions* are tolerated, so they are separated in different Quarters; those of one *Religion* have the one half of the *Canton*, and those of the other *Religion* have the other half, so they live apart; but in *Glaris* they are mixt: And now the Number of the *Papists* is become very low; one assured me, there were not above two hundred *Families* of that *Religion*, and those are all so poor, that their *Necessities* dispose some of them every Day to change their *Religion*. The other *Papish*
Cantons,

Cantons, seeing the Danger of losing their Interest entirely in that *Canton*, and being set on by the Intrigues of a *Court* that has understood well the Policy of imbroiling all other *States*, made great use of some Complaints that were brought by the *Papists* of *Glaris*, as if the prevailing of the other *Religion* exposed them to much Injustice and Oppression; and upon that they proposed, that the *Canton* should be equally divided into two halves, as *Appenzel* was: This was extremely unjust, since the *Papists* were not the tenth or perhaps the twentieth Part of the *Canton*. It is true, it was so situated in the midst of the *Popish Canton*, that the *Protestant Cantons* could not easily come to their Assistance; but those of *Glaris* resolved to dye rather than suffer this Injustice, and the *Protestant Cantons* resolved to engage in a *War* with the *Popish Cantons*, if they imposed this Matter on their Brethren of *Glaris*. At last, this Temper was found, that in all Suits of Law between those of different *Religions*, two thirds of the *Judges* should be always of the *Religion* of the Defendant. But while this Contest was on foot, those, who as is believed, fomented it, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjunction; for then was the *Fortification* of *Hunningen* at the Ports of *Basel* much advanced, of the Importance of which, they are now very Apprehensive when it is too late. There are six *Noble Families* in *Bern*, that have still this Privilege, that when any of them is chosen to be of the *Council*, they take Place before all the ancient Counsellors, whereas all the rest take Place according to the Order in which they were chosen to be of the *Council*.

A Letter from MILAN.

AFTER a short stay at *Zurich*, we went down the *Lake*, where we past under the *Bridge* of *Ripperswood*, which is a very noble Work for such a Country.

Country: The *Lake* is there about half a Mile broad, the *Bridge* is about twelve Foot broad, but hath no Rails on either Side, so that if the Wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there; a Man is in great Danger of being blown into the *Lakes*: And this same Defect I found in almost all the *Bridges* of *Lombardy*, which seemed very strange; for since that Defence is made upon so small an Expence, it was amazing to see *Bridges* so naked: And that was more surprizing in some Places, where the *Bridges* are both high and long; yet I never heard of any Mischief that followed on this: But those are sober *Countries*, where drinking is not much in use. After two Days Journey, we came to *Coire*, which is the chief *Town* of the *Grisons*, and where we found a general *Diet* of the three *Leagues* sitting, so that having stay'd ten Days there, I came to be informed of a great many Particulars concerning those *Leagues*, which are not commonly known: The *Town* is but little, and may contain between four and five thousand Souls: It lies in a Bottom, upon a small Brook, that a little below the *Town* falls into the *Rhine*: It is environed with *Mountains* of all hands, so that they have a very short *Summer*; for the snow is not melted till *May* or *June*; and it began to snow in *September* when I was there. On a rising ground at the East-End of the *Town* is the *Cathedral*, the *Bishops Palace*, and the *Cloise*, where the *Dean* and *Prebendaries* live; all within the *Cloise* are *Papists*, but all the *Town* are *Protestants*, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a Mile high in the Hill, one goes up by a steep Ascent to *Saint Lucius's Chapel*: My Curiosity carried me thither, though I gave no faith to the Legend of *King Lucius* and of his coming so far from Home to be the *Apostle* of the *Grisons*. His *Chapel* is a little Vault about a Foot square, where there is an *Altar*, and where Mass is said upon some great *Festivals*: It is situated under a natural *Arch* that is in the *Rock*, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the *Cell* of an *Hermit*: From it some Drops of a small *Fountain* fall

fall down near the Chapel: The *Bishop* assured me it had a miraculous Virtue for weak Eyes, and that it was oily; but neither Taste nor Feeling could discover to me any Oiliness: I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-water is. But when I offered to shew the good old *Bishop*, that the Legend of *Lucius* was a *Fable* in all the Parts of it; but most remarkably in that which related to the *Grisons*, and that we had no *Kings* in *Britain* at that Time, but were a *Province* to the *Romans*, that no ancient *Authors* speak of it, *Bede* being the first that mentions it; and that the pretended *Letter* to *Pope Eleutherius*, together with his Answer, has evident Characters of Forgery in it, all this signified nothing to the *Bishop*, who assured me, that they had a *Tradition* of that in their *Church*; and it was inserted in their *Breviary*, which he firmly believed: He also told me the other Legend of *King Lucius's* Sister, *St. Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whose *Veil* there was yet a considerable Remnant reserved among their *Relicks*. I confess, I never saw a *Relick* so ill disguised; for it is a Piece of worn Linnen Cloth lately washt, and the Burning did not seem to be a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Case to shew it me, there were some there that with great Devotion rub'd their Beads upon it. The *Bishop* had some Contests with his *Dean*, and being a *Prince* of the *Empire*, he had prescribed him: The *Dean* had also behaved himself so insolently, that by an Order of the *Dyet*, to which even the *Bishop*, as was believed, consented, he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common Consent both of the *Popish* and *Protestant* Communities, a *Law* was long ago made against Ecclesiastical Immunities. This Attempt on the *Dean* was made four Years ago. As soon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great Complaints of the *Bishop*, and it was thought the *Popish* Party intended to move in the *Dyet* while we were there, for the repealing of that *Law*, but they did it not. The Foundation of the Quarrel between the *Bishop* and *Dean*, was the Exemption

emptions to which the *Dean* and *Chapter* pretended, and upon which the *Bishop* made some Invasion: Upon which I took Occasion to shew him the Novelty of those Exemptions, and that in the *Primitive Church* it was believed, that the *Bishop* had the Authority over his *Presbyters* by a Divine Right; and if it was by a Divine Right, then the *Pope* could not exempt them from his Obedience; but the *Bishop* would not carry the Matter so high, and contented himself with two Maxims; the one was, That the *Bishop* was *Christ's Vicar* in his *Diocefs*; and the other was, That what the *Pope* was in the *Catholick Church*, the *Bishop* was the same in his *Diocefs*.

He was a good-natur'd Man, and did not make use of the great Authority that he has over the *Papists* there, to set them on to live uneasily with their Neighbours of another *Religion*. That *Bishop* was anciently a great Prince; and the greatest Part of the *League*, that carries still the Name of *The House of God*, belonged to him, tho' I was assured that *Pregallia*, one of those *Communities*, was a free *State* above six hundred Years ago, and that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other *Communities* of this *League*, bought their Liberties from several *Bishops* some considerable Time before the *Reformation*, of which the *Deeds* are yet extant; so that it is an impudent thing to say as some have done, that they shook off this Yoke at that time.

The *Bishop* hath yet reserved a *Revenue* of about one thousand Pounds *Sterling* a Year, and every one of the *Prebendaries* hath near two hundred Pounds a Year. It is not easy to imagine out of what the Riches of this *Country* is raised; for one sees nothing but a Tract of vast *Mountains*, that seem barren *Rocks*, and some little *Vallies* among them, not a Mile broad, and the best Part of these is washed away by the *Rhine*, and some Brooks that fall into it; but their Wealth consists chiefly in their Hills, which afford much Pasture; and in the hot Months, in which all the Pasture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into these

these Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of about two hundred thousand *Crowns* a Year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular Persons are so rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have *Estates* to the value of one hundred thousand *Crowns*. Mr. *Schovestein*, that is accounted the richest Man in the Country, is believed to be worth a *Million*, I mean of *Livres*. The Government here is purely a *Common-wealth*; for in the Choice of their *Magistrates*, every Man that is above sixteen Years old has his *Voice*, which is also the Constitution of some of the small *Cantons*. The *Three Leagues* are, the League of the *Grisons*, that of *The House of God*, and that of the ten *Jurisdictions*.

They believe, that upon the Incurfions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as some fled to the *Venetian Islands*, out of which arose that famous *Common-wealth*; so others came and shelter'd themselves in those *Vallies*. They told me of an ancient Inscription lately found of a *Stone*, where on the one Side is graven *Omitto Rheto Indometos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other, which they pretend was made by *Julius Cæsar*. The *Stone* on which this Inscription is, is upon one of their *Mountains*; but I did not pass that Way, so can make no Judgment concerning it. After the forming of this People, they were cast into little *States* according to the different *Vallies* which they inhabited, and in which Justice was administered, and so they fell under the Power of some little *Princes*, that became severe Masters; but when they saw the Example that the *Switzers* had set them, in shaking off the *Austrian Yoke*, above two hundred Years ago, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; only some of those small *Princes* used their Authority better, and concurred with the People in shaking off the Yoke, and so they are still Parts of the Body; only *Habsburg* is an absolute Sovereignty; it is about two Miles from *Coire* to the West, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. The whole Territory is about half a Mile long at the Foot of the *Alps*, where there is scarce any Breadth.

The Authority of these *Barons* was formerly more Absolute than it is now ; for the Subjects were their Slaves : But to keep together two little *Villages*, they have granted them a Power of naming a List for their *Magistrates*, the Person being to be named by the *Baron*, who hath also the Right of Pardoning, a Right of Coyning, and every thing also that belongs to a Sovereign. I saw this little *Prince* in *Coire*, in an Equipage not suitable to his Quality ; for he was in all Points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other *Baronies* that are Members of the *Dyet*, and subject to it ; the Chief belonged to the *Arch-Dukes* of *Inchpruck* ; the other two belong to *Mr. Schovenstein* and *Mr. de Mont* ; they are the Heads of those *Communities* of which their *Baronies* are composed ; they name the *Magistrates* out of the Lists that are presented to them by their Subjects ; and they have the Right of Pardoning, and of Confiscations. That belonging to the House of *Austria* is the biggest ; it hath five Voices in the *Dyet*, and it can raise twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it off the *Emperor* in the Year 1679, he entered upon the Rights of the ancient *Barons*, which were specified in an Agreement that passed between him and his *Peasants*, and was confirmed by the *Emperor*. *Travers* made many Incroachments upon the Privileges of his Subjects, who upon that made their Complaints to the *League* ; but *Travers* would have the Matter judged at *Inchpruck*, and the *Emperor* supported him in this Pretension, and sent an *Agent* to the *Dyet* : I was present when he had his *Audience*, in which there was nothing but general *Complements* : But the *Dyet* stood firm to their Constitution, and asserted that the *Emperor* had no Authority to judge in that Matter, which belonged only to them ; So *Travers* was forced to let his Pretensions fall.

All the other Parts of this State are purely Democritical : There are three different Bodies or Leagues, and every one of these are an intire Government ; and the Assembly or *Dyet* of the Three Leagues, is only a

Confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, or the *Cantons*. There are *sixty-seven Voices* in the general Dyet which are thus divided: The *League of the Grisons* hath *twenty-eight Voices*, that of *The House of God* hath *twenty-four*, and that of the *Jurisdictions* hath *fifteen*. The *Jurisdictions* belonged anciently to the *House of Austria*; but they having shaken off that Authority, were incorporated into the Dyet: But in the last Wars of *Germany*, the *Austrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke, yet they defended their Liberty with so much Vigour, that the *Austrians* it seems thought the Conquest not worth the while, and that it would not quit the Cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary Actions: In one *Village*, which was quite abandoned by all the *Men* belonging to it, who left the *Women* in it; some hundreds, as I was told, were quartered, and were apprehensive of no Danger from their *Hofstesses*; but the *Women* intended to let their *Husbands* see, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action; tho' it must be confess'd, it was a little too rough and barbarous for the *Sex*: They entered into a Combination to cut the Throats of all the *Soldiers* at one Time; the *Woman* that propos'd this, had for lodged with her, and she with her own Hands dispatch'd them all, and so did all the rest, not one *Soldier* escaping to carry away the News of so unheard of a Rage. In another Place, a Body of the *Austrians* came into a *Valley* that was quite abandoned; for the *Men*, that had no *Arms* but their *Clubs* and *Staves*, had got up to the *Mountains*; but they took these Measures so well, and possess'd themselves so of the *Passes*, that they came down upon the *Soldiers* with so much Fury, that they defeated them quite, so that very few escaped; and it is certain, that the Subduing them would have proved a very hard Work. It is true they are not in a Condition to hold out long, the *Publick* is so poor; so that tho' particular Persons are extream rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concern'd to preserve his Liberty.

which is more entire here, than it is even in *Switzerland*: But this swells often too much, and throws them into great Convulsions. The *League of the Grisons* is the first and most ancient, and it is composed of eight and twenty *Communities*, of which there are eighteen *Papists*, and the rest are *Protestants*. The *Communities* of the two *Religions* live neighbourly together, yet they do not suffer those of another *Religion* to live among them, so that every *Community* is entirely of the same *Religion*; and if any one changes, he must go into another *Community*. Each *Community* is an entire *State* within it self, and all Persons must meet once a *Year* to chuse the *Judge* and his *Assistants*; whom they change, or continue from *Year* to *Year*, as they see Cause; There is no Difference made between *Gentleman* and *Peasant*, and the *Tenant* hath a *Vote* as well as his *Landlord*; nor dare his *Landlord* use him ill when he votes contrary to his *Intentions*; for the *Peasants* would look upon that as a common Quarrel. An Appeal lies from the *Judge* of the *Community*, to the *Assembly* of the *League*, where all Matters end; for there lies no Appeal to the general *Dyet* of the *Three Leagues*, except in Matters that concern the conquered Countries, which belong in common to all the three. There is one chosen by the *Deputies* for the *Assembly* of the *League*, who is called the *Head* of the *League*, that can call them together as he sees Cause, and can likewise bring a Cause that hath been once judged to a second Hearing. *Ilants* is the chief *Town* of this *League*, where their *Dyet* meets. The second *League* is that of *The House of God*, in which there are four and twenty *Communities*; the *Burgomaster* of *Coire* is always the *Head* of this *League*. This *League* is almost wholly *Protestants*, and the two *Valleys* of the *Upper* and *Lower Engedin* are pointed out by the *Papists*, as little less than *Canibals* towards such *Catholicks* as come among them; but *Frier Sfondrato*, Nephew to *Pope Gregory* the fourteenth, whose Mother, the *Marchess* of *Bergominero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this
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to be true to his great Regret. About eighteen Years ago, he was believed to have wrought *Miracles*: He became so much in love with the *Crown of Martyrdom*, that he went thro' the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he desir'd. His *Brother* had come some time before into the *Country* to drink *Mineral Waters*, and was well known to the *Gentry*, so some of these hearing of the *Frier's* coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertain'd by them in their Houses, and convey'd thro' the *Country*, tho' he took all possible Ways to provoke them; for he was often railing at their *Religion*, but to all that they made no answer, only they continu'd their *Civilities* still; which did so inrage the warm *Frier*, that he went to *Bormio*, and there (as was believed) he died of Grief. An Accident fell out five Years ago, that the People of the *Country* esteemed a sort of a *Miracle*. The *Papists* in their *Processions* go sometimes out of one *Community* into another, and when they pass thro' *Protestant Communities*, they lower the *Cross*, and give over singing till they are again upon *Popish Ground*; but then they went on, bearing up the *Cross*, and singing as they went; upon which the *Protestants* stop't them, and would not suffer them to go on in that Manner. They finding that they were not equal in Number to the *Protestants*, sent to a *Catholick Community*, and desired them to come to their Assistance: Two Thousand came, and by all Appearance the Dispute would have had a bloody Issue; for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the Rights of their *Community*, and the others were no less resolved to force their Way; but an extraordinary thick Mist arose, and thro' it, the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood; but terrified with the Appearance of such a Number, they retired; and this saved a little Battle, that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much Blood, but might have very much disordered the whole Constitution and Union of their *Leagues*. The *Papists* of Quality endeavour much to keep

keep their People in order; but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The *Jurisdictions* have fifteen Votes in the General Dyet, yet they are generally called the *ten Jurisdictions*, and the greater part of them are likewise of the *Religion*; for upon the general Computation of the *three Leagues*, the *Protestants* are about two Thirds. In their Dyets there are *three Tables*, one in the Middle, and two on either Side; at every *Table* sits the *Head* of the *League*, and a *Secretary* near him; and from the *Table* there goes down Benches on both Hands for the *Deputies* from the *Communities* of that *League*: They hold their Dyets by Turns in the Chief Towns of the several *Leagues*, and it happen'd to be the Turn of *The House of God*, when I was there; so they met at *Coire*.

The *three Leagues* have a conquered Country in *Italy*, divided into three Districts, the *Valtelline*, *Chavennes* and *Bormio*. When *John Galeasse* possessed himself of the *Dutchy of Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas*, *Maftinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given those three Branches of the *Dutchy of Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hospitably received and entertained by the *Bishop*, when he died; he gave his Right to those Territories to the *Cathedral of Coire*: But here was a Title without a Force able to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on Foot, the *three Leagues* being much courted by both the *Crowns*, since they were Masters of the *Passes* by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they resolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: Yet they had not Zeal enough for their *Bishop*, to ingage deep upon his Account, so they agreed with him to pay him such a Revenue, and he transferr'd his Title to them; and they were so considerable to the *Spaniards*, that without much ado, they yielded those Parcels of the *Dutchy of Milan* to them, and by this Means they are possessed of them. Those Accessions
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to this State are much better than the Principal for as certainly the *Valtelline*, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the richest *Vallies* in the World, in which there are three Harvests some Years; so the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the best *Vallies* of the *Grisons*: Yet the Ingagement that People have to their native Homes appears signally here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Country, that they might situate themselves so advantagiously. But they love their rugged *Vallies*, and think the Safety they enjoy in them beyond the Pleasures of their acquired Dominions; so they govern them by *Bailiffs* and *Podesta's*, and other *Officers* whom they send among them; and all the Advantages that they draw from them, is that the *Magistrates* whom they send to govern them, do enrich themselves, as the *Bailiffs* in *Switzerland* do. All those *Offices* go round the several *Communities*, who have the Right of Nomination in their Turn: But if there is none of the *Community* proper for the Employment, any one of another *Community* may buy of them the Nomination for that Turn, and the *Community* distribute among them the Money that he gives them. The Publick draws nothing out of those Parts, except the Fines, which in some Years amounts to no considerable Sum; and ten or twelve thousand *Crowns* is thought a great Deal to be raised out of them in a Year; so that their *Subjects* live happy, and free from all *Taxes*, which made their last Revolt appear the more extraordinary; and it was indeed the Effect of a very surprising Bigotry, when a People under the gentlest Yoke in the World, who had no other Grievance, but that now and then their *Magistrates* were of another Religion, and that the *Protestant Religion* was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their *Masters*, cut the Throats of their Neighbours, and cast themselves into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who are the terriblest *Masters* in the World.

But to give a more particular Relation of that Matter, and to tell the Circumstances which seem a little to lessen that *Rebellion* and *Massacre*; I must give an Account of a Part of this Constitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greatest Men in it to tremble: The *Peasants* comes sometimes in great Bodies, and demand a *Chamber of Justice* from the General *Dyet*, and they are bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty *Years*; commonly this Tumult of the *Peasants* is set on by some of the Male-contented *Gentry*, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This *Court* is composed of ten *Judges* out of every *League*, and twenty *Advocates*, who manage such Accusations as are presented to them. This *Court* is Paramount to *Law*, and Acts like a *Court of Inquisition*; they give the *Question*, and do every Thing that they think necessary to discover the Truth of such Accusations as are presented to them; and the Decisions of this *Court* can never be brought under a second Review; tho' there is an Exception to this; for about a hundred *Years* ago, one *Court of Justice* reversed all that another had done; but that is a single Instance. The *Peasants* are in as great a Jealousie of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream sensible of a great Dissolution of Morals that the *Spanish Service* brings among them: For there is a *Grison Regiment* kept still in Pay by the *Spaniards*, they are in twelve *Companies* of fifty apiece, and the *Captains* have a thousand *Crowns* Pay, tho' they are not oblig'd to attend upon the Service: This is upon the Matter a Pension paid under a more decent Name to the most considerable Men of the Country; and this is shared among them without any Distinction of *Protestant* and *Papist*, and is believed to sway their *Councils* much. The *Peasants* are apt to take Fire, and to believe they are betrayed by those Pensioners of *Spain*: And when Rumours are blown about among them, they come in great Numbers to

demand a *Chamber of Justice*. The common *Question* that they give, which is also used all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is, that they tie the *Hands* of the suspected Person behind his *Back*, and pull them up to his *Head*, and so draw them about, by which the *Arms* and chiefly the *Shoulder-blades* are disjointed; and when a Person put to the *Question* confesses his *Crime*, and is upon that condemned to die, he is oblig'd to renew his *Confession* upon *Oath* at the *Place of Execution*; and if he goes off from it then, and saith, *That his Confession was extorted by the Violence of the Torture*, he is put again to the *Question*: For this passes for a *Maxim*, *That no Man must die unless he confesseth himself guilty*. Generally when the *Fury* of demanding this *Chamber* is spread among the *People*, the *Gentry* run away, and leave the whole *Matter* in the *Power* of the *Peasants*; for they know not where it will end, and so the *Peasants* being named to be *Judges*, the *Justice* goes quick, till some *Sacrifices* appease the *Rage*. Two Year ago, upon the *Sale* of a *Common* to the *Bishop* of *Como*, to which he had an ancient *Pretension*, the *Peasants* having no more the *Liberty* of the *Common*, were enraged at their *Magistrates*, and a *Report* was spread abroad, of which the first *Author* could never be discovered, *That the Spaniards had sent an hundred thousand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magistrates*: Upon this they were so set on *Fire*, that it was generally thought there would have been many *Sacrifices* made to this *Fury*. But the *Gentry* happened to be then so well united, that there was none of them engaged among the *Peasants*, or that managed their *Rage*. A *Chamber of Justice* was granted, but the *Matter* was so ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty; yet some that had dealt in that *Transaction* were fined, not so much for any *Fault* of theirs, as to raise a *Fund* to pay the *Expences* of the *Chamber*; and because they could not find *Colour* enough to raise so much out of the *Fines*; there

there was a Fine of five hundred *Livers* laid on every one of the *Spanish Companies*. I hope this Digression will not appear tedious to you, and the rather because you will soon see that it was a little Necessary to open the Matter of the *Rebellion* and *Massacre* in the *Valteline*.

In the Year 1718. there was a Report set about, That the Spaniards had a Treaty on Foot to tear away the *Valteline* from the Leagues: This was supported by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the Governor of Milan was building upon the Lake of *Como*; near the *Valteline*, there was one *Ganatz*, a Minister, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that set on and managed the Rage of the *Peasants*, and there was great Reason to suspect some underhand Dealing tho' he threw it which way he pleased. A Chamber of Justice, was appointed to sit at *Tossane*, which is a considerable Town, twelve Miles from *Coire*, on the Way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a High and small Hill, to which there is no Access but on one Side, where there are yet the Ruins of a Castle and a Church, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus*, the first Prince of the Country. There was severe Justice done in this Chamber: A Priest was put to the Question, and so ill used that he died in it, which is a crying Thing among them. The chief Suspicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being one of the best Families of the *Grisons*, was then one of the Captains in the *Spanish Regiment*. He withdrew himself from the Storm, but the *Peasants* led on by *Ganatz* pursued him so, that at last they found him, and hewed him in Pieces, *Ganatz* himself striking the first stroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preserved by his Friends: And four and twenty Years after, fifty or sixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the same Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their Design by the same Tool with which their Friend was murdered. *Ganatz* had during the Wars abandoned both his Re-

ligion and Profession, being indeed a Disgrace to both, and had served first in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spanish Troops*. After the Peace was made, he became so considerable, being supported by the *Spanish Faction*, that he was chosen Governor of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire*, to a *Dyet*, he being then in so important a Charge: But he was so much hated, that tho' the Murthering of a *Magistrate in Office*, and at a *Publick Assembly* in so terrible a Manner, ought to have been severely punished, yet no Enquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In that *Chamber*, many that were put to the *Question* confessed enough to hang them, some indured the *Question*, and escaped with the Loss of the Use of their Arms. Those of the *Valteline*, have made Use of this Severity, as that which gave the Rise to the *Massacre*; and it is very probable, this might have drawn in some that would have been otherwise more moderate, and that it did likewise precipitate that barbarous Action: Yet it was afterwards found out, that the *Plot* had been formed long before, so that the Industry and Rage of the *Priest*, managed by *Spanish Emissaries*, working upon the Bigotry of the People, was the real Cause, and this was only made Use of as a Pretext to give some more plausible Colours to the *Massacre*, which was executed some Months after this *Chamber* was dissolved. It began while the *Protestant* swore at Church: There were some *hundreds* destroyed, the rest got all up to the *Mountains*; and so escaped into the Country of the *Grisons*; and those of *Chavennes* got likewise up to the *Hills*; for they are situated just at the Bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that *War*; the *French* saw of what Advantage it was to them not to let this *Pass* from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; so *Bassompierre* was sent to *Madrid*, and obtain'd a Promise, that all things should be put in the same State in which they were before the Year 1618. but when that Order was sent to

to the Governor of Milan, it was plain he had secret Orders to the contrary ; for he refus'd to execute it : So a War follow'd, in which the *Grisons* found it was not easie for them to support the Charge of it, without imploying the Assistance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other Interest in the Affairs of the *Valteline* than the Preservation of the *Catholick Religion* ; and to shew their Sincerity, they put the Country into the *Pope's* Hands, knowing that he could not preserve it but by their Assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all Change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the Cause of the *Grisons*, and because the Duke of *Rohan* was like to be the most favourable General, as being of the Religion, he was sent to command some Forces that march'd thither : But he saw, that if the *French* once made themselves Masters of the *Passes* of the Country, it would turn to their Ruin ; and finding the *Grisons* reposed an entire Confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* seeing the *French* engage in the Quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the *Passes* ; offer'd to restore all the Territory in Italy ; for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewise revolted, only the *Protestants* got away so quick upon the Disorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the Rage of the *Priests*. The *Spaniards* ask'd these Conditions, that an *Amnesty* should be granted for what was past ; that there should be no Exercise of the *Protestant Religion* tolerated in the Country, and that even the *Bailiffs* and other *Magistrates* of the Religion, that came to be sent into the *Valteline*, should have no Exercise of their Religion ; and as for other Persons, that none of the Religion might stay above six Weeks at a time in the Country. The Duke of *Rohan* seeing that Conditions of so much Advantage to the Leagues were offer'd to them, did underhand advise those of the Religion to accept of them, at the same time that he seem'd openly to oppose the Treaty set on foot on those Terms, and that

that he might get out of this Employment with the less Dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in Prison till they had finish'd their Treaty with the Spaniards. So that they very gratefully to this Day own, that they owe the Preservation of their Country to the wise Advices of that great Man. Many that were of the Religion return'd to their Houses and Estates, but the greatest Part fearing such another Massacre have since chang'd their Religion; others have sold their Estates, and left the Country; some stay still, and go two or three Hours Journey to some of the Protestant Communities, where they have the Exercise of their Religion: And tho' they may not stay in the Valteline above six Weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a Day or two out of the Country once within that Time; nor is that Matter at present so severely examin'd, so that there is a Calm among them as to those Matters. But when it comes to the Turn of the Protestant Communities to send one of the Religion to those Employments, he is often much embarrass'd by the Bishop of Como, to whose Diocese those Territories do belong; for if the Bishop fancies that they do any thing contrary to the Ecclesiastical Immunities, he excommunicates them; and tho' this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse State by being Hereticks, yet it produces a very sensible Effect; for the People, that are extremely superstitious, will not after that come near such Magistrates; so that about three Years ago a Bailiff found himself oblig'd to desire to be recall'd, tho' his Time was not out, since, being excommunicated, he could no longer maintain the Government in his own Person.

Among the Grisons the Roman Law prevails, modified a little by their Customs: One that was a little particular, was executed when I was there. A Man that hath an Estate by his Wife, enjoys it after her Death, as long as he continues a Widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the Children he had by her. The Justice is

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short and simple, but it is oft thought that Bribes go here, tho' but meanly, in proportion to their Poverty, as well as in other Places. The *married Women* here do scarce appear abroad, except at *Church*; but the *young Women* have more Liberty before they are *married*. There is such a Plenty of all things, by reason of the *Gentleness* of the *Government*, and the *Industry* of the *People*, that in all the *ten Days*, in which I staid at *Coire*, I was but once ask'd an Alms in the *Streets*. There are *two Churches* in *Coire*; in the one there is an *Organ*, that joins with their *Voices* in the singing of the *Psalms*; and there was, for the Honour of the *Dyet*, while we were there, an *Anthem* sung by a set of *Musicians*; very regularly. In all the *Churches* both of *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*, except in this only, the *Minister* preaches 'cover'd; but here he is bare-headed. And I observ'd a particular Devotion us'd here in saying of the *Lord's Prayer*, that the *Ministers* who wear *Caps*, put them off when this was said. The *Women* here, as in *Bern*, turn all to the *East* in time of *Prayer*, and also in their private Devotions, before and after the *publick Prayers*: Many also bow at the Name of *Jesus*: They christen discovering the whole Head, and pouring the *Water* on the Hind-head, using a Trine-Asperision, which is also the Practice of the *Switzers*. It was matter of much Edification, to see the great Numbers both here and all *Switzerland* over, that come every Day to *Prayers* Morning and Evening. They give here in the Middle of the *Prayer* a good Interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Assembly. The *Schools* here go not above *Latin*, *Greek* and *Logick*; and for the rest, they send their Children to *Zurich* or *Basil*. The *Clergy* here are very meanly provided for; for the most part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their *People*: They complain'd much to me of a great Coldness in their *People* in the Matters of *Religion*, and of a great Corruption in their *Morals*: The *Commons* are extream insolent, and many Crimes go unpunish'd,

unpunish'd, if the Persons that commit them have either great Credit, or much Money. The poor *Ministers* here are under a terrible Slavery; for the *Grisons* pretend, that in all times they had not only the *Patronage* of their *Churches*, but a Power to dismiss their *Church-men* as they saw Cause. How it is among the *Papists*, I cannot tell; but the *Dean* of the *Synod* of the *House of God* told me, they had an ill Custom of *Ordaining* their *Ministers* without a Title, upon an Examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally six or seven Hours, and when this Trial was dispatch'd, if the Person was found qualified, they *ordain'd* him; and it was too ordinary for those that were thus *ordain'd* to endeavour to undermine the *Ministers* already in employment, if their People grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by Age; and often the Interest of the Kindred of the Intruder carried the Matter against the Incumbent without any Colour or Pretence; and in that Case the *Synod* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Country they preach in *High-Dutch*, and in the other Half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is, a Mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every *League* they have a *Synod*; and as the People chuse their *Ministers*, so in imitation of the *Switzers*, every *Synod* chuses their *Antistes* or Superintendant; he is call'd the *Dean* among the *Grisons*, and hath a sort of an Episcopal Power; but he is accountable to the *Synod*: The Office is for Life; but the *Synod*, upon great Cause given, may make a Change. The People of this Country are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have some Tincture of the *Italian* Temper. They are extream civil to *Strangers*; but it seems in all Commonwealths *Inn-keepers* think they have a Right to exact upon *Strangers*, which one finds here as well as in *Holland*, or in *Switzerland*.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the *Grisons* with a very extraordinary Story, which I had

had both from the *Ministers* at *Coire*, and several other *Gentlemen*, that saw in *April* 1685, about five hundred Persons of different Sexes and Ages, that pass thro' the *Town*, who gave this Account of themselves. They were the *Inhabitants* of a *Valley* in *Tirol*, belonging for the greatest Part to the *Archbishoprick* of *Salzburg*, but some of them were in the *Diocesses* of *Trent* and *Bresse*: They seem'd to be a Remnant of the old *Waldenses*: They worshipp'd neither *Images* nor *Saints*; and they believed the *Sacrament* was only a Commemoration of the Death of *Christ*, and in many other Points they had their peculiar Opinions, different from those of the *Church* of *Rome*; they knew nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calvinists*; and the *Grisons*, tho' their Neighbours, had never heard of this Nearness of theirs to the *Protestant Religion*. They had *Mas* said among them; but some Years since some of the *Valley* going over to *Germany* to earn somewhat by their Labour, happen'd to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better Instructed in matters of *Religion*, and these brought back with them into the *Valley* the *Heidelberg Catechism*, together with some other *German Books*, which ran over the *Valley*; and they being before that in a good Disposition, those Books had such an Effect upon them, that they gave over going to *Mas* any more, and began to worship *God* in a way more suitable to the *Rules* set down in *Scripture*. Some of their *Priests* concurred with them in this happy Change; but others, that adhered still to the *Mas*, went and gave the *Archbishop* of *Salzburg* an Account of it; upon which he sent some into the Country to examine the Truth of the Matter, to exhort them to return to *Mas*; and to threaten them with all Severity, if they continued obstinate; so they seeing a terrible Storm ready to break upon them, resolv'd to abandon their Houses, and all they had, rather than sin against their Consciences; and the whole *Inhabitants* of the *Valley*, old and young, Men and Women, to the Number of two thousand, divided themselves into several Bodies; some

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intended to go to *Brandenburgh*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the Way of *Coire*, intending to disperse themselves in *Switzerland*. The *Ministers* told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity and Modesty; for a Collection being made for them, they desir'd only a little Bread to carry them on their Way. From *Coire* we went to *Tossane*, and from that, thro' the Way that is justly called *Via Mala*: It is thro' a Bottom between two Rocks, thro' which the *Rhine* runs, but under Ground for a great part of the way: The Way is cut out in the Middle of the Rock in some Places, and in several Places the Steepness of the Rock being such, that a Way could not be cut out, there are Beams driven into it, over which Boards and Earth are laid; this Way holds an Hour: After that, there is for two Hours good way, and we pass thro' two considerable *Villages*; there is good Lodging in both: From thence there is, for two hours Journey terrible Way, almost as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an Hours Journey good Way to *Splugen*; which is a large *Village* of above two hundred Houses, that are well built, and the *Inhabitants* seem all to live at their Ease, tho' they have no sort of Soil but a little Meadow Ground about them. This is the last *Protestant Church* that was in our way; it was well endowed; for the Provision of the *Minister* was near two hundred Crowns. Those of this *Village* are the *Carriers* between *Italy* and *Germany*, so they drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual *Carriage* going and coming, and we were told, that there pass generally a hundred Horses thro' this Town, one Day with another; and there are above five hundred *Carriage-Horses* that belong to this Town. From this Place we went mounting for three Hours, till we got to the Top of the Hills, where there is only one great Inn. After that the Way was tolerably good for two Hours; and for two Hours there is constant Descent, which for the most Part, is as steep as if we were all the while going down Stairs; At the Foot of this, is a little *Village*, called *Campdolein*, and here we found

we were in Italy, both by the vast Difference of the Climate; for whereas we were freezing on the other Side, the Heat of the Sun was uneasy here; and also by the Number of the Beggars, tho' it may seem the Reverse of what one ought to expect, since the richest Country of Europe is full of Beggars, and the Grisons, that are one of the poorest States, have no Beggars at all. One thing is also strange, that among the Grisons, the rich Wine of the *Valltelline*, after it is carried three Days Journey, is sold cheaper then, than the Wine of other Countries, where it grows at the Door; but there are no Taxes nor Impositions here. From *Campdolein*, there is three Hours Journey to *Chavennes*, all in a slow Descent, and in some Places the Way is extremely rugged and stony. *Chavennes* is very pleasantly situated at the very Foot of the Mountains; there runs thro' the Town a pleasant little River. It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich Vineyards about it; and the Rebound of the Sun-beams from the Mountains doth so increase the Heats here, that the Soil is as rich here, as in any Place of Italy. Here one begins to see a noble Architecture in a great many Houses: In short, all the Marks of a rich Soil, and a free Government appear here. The Town stood a little more to the North, about five hundred Years ago, but a Slice of the Alps came down upon it, and buried it quite; and at the Upper-end of the Town, there are some Rocks that look like Ruins; about which there hath been a very extraordinary Expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit Places for Forts and Castles. The Marks of the Tools appeared all over the Rock in one place. I measured the Breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty Foot, the Length is four hundred and fifty Foot, and as we could guess, the Rock was two hundred Foot high, cut down on both Sides in a Line as even as a Wall: Towards the Top of one, the name *Salvius* is cut in great Letters, a little Gothick. On the Tops of those Rocks, which are inaccessible, except on the one Side, and to that the Ascent is extremely uneasy, they had Garrisons during

the *Wars of the Valteline*: There were fifteen hundred in *Garrison* in that which is in the Middle. There falls down frequently *Slices* from the *Hills*, that do extreemly fatten the Ground which they cover, so that it becomes Fruitful beyond Expression: And I saw a *Lime-Tree*, that was planted eight and thirty *Years* ago, in a Piece of Ground which had been so covered, that was two Fathom and a half of Compass. On both Sides of the *River*, the *Town*, and the *Gardens* belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom, that lies between the *Hills*; and at the Roots of the *Mountains* they dig great *Cellars*, and *Grottoes*, and strike a *Hole* about a Foot square, ten or twelve Foot into the *Hill*, which all the *Summer* long blows a fresh Air into the *Cellar*; so that the *Wine* of those *Cellars* drinks almost as cold as if it were in *Ice*; but this Wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the End of *September*; for the *Sun* opening the Pores of the *Earth*, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compressed within the *Cavities* that are in the *Mountains*, rushes out with a constant Wind; but when the Operation of the *Sun* is weakned, this Course of the Air is less sensible. Before or over those *Vaults* they build little pleasant Rooms like *Summer-houses*, and in them they go to Collations generally at Night in *Summer*. I never saw bigger *Grapes* than grow there; there is one Sort bigger than the biggest *Damascene Plums* that we have in *England*.

There is a Sort of *Wine* here and in the *Valteline*, which I never heard named any where else, that is called *Aromatick Wine*, and as the Taste makes one think it must be a Composition (for it tastes like a *Strong-water* drawn of *Spices*) so its Strength being equal to a weak *Brandy*, disposes one to believe that it cannot be a natural *Wine*, and yet it is the pure Juice of the *Grape*, without any Mixture. The *Liquor* being singular, I informed my self particularly of the Way of preparing it: The *Grapes* are

red, tho' the *Wine* is white; they let the *Grapes* hang on the *Vines* till *November*, that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their *Garrets*, and set them upright on their *Ends* by one another for two or three *Months*; then they pick all the *Grapes*, and throw away those in which there is the least Appearance of *Rottenness*, so that they press none but sound *Grapes*. After they are pressed, they put the *Liquor* into an open *Vessel*, in which it throws up a *Scum*, which they take off twice a *Day*, and when no more *Scum* comes up, which according to the Difference of the *Season* is sooner or later (for sometimes the *Scum* comes no more after eight *Days*, and at other times it continues a *Fortnight*;) then they put it into a close *Vessel*. For the first *Year* it is extream sweet and luscious; but at the End of the *Year*, they pierce it a little higher than the Middle of the *Vessel*, almost two *Thirds* from the *Bottom*, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every *Year* they fill it up anew: Once a *Year* in the Month of *Match* it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a *Month*; but their other *Wine* ferments not at that time. *Madam Salis*, a Lady of that *Country*, who entertained us three *Days* with a *Magnificence* equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had *Wine* of this Composition, that was forty *Years* old and was so very strong, that one could hardly drink above a *Spoonful*, and it tasted high of *Spicery*, tho' she assured me there was not one *Grain* of *Spice* in it, nor of any other *Mixture* whatsoever. Thus the *Heat* that is in this *Wine*, becomes a *Fire*, and distills it self, throwing up the more *Spirituious* Parts of it to the *Top* of the *Hogshead*.

Both here, and in the *Grisons*, the *Meat* is very juicy, the *Fowl* is excellent, their *Roots* and *Herbs* very tasteful; but the *Fish* of their *Lakes* is beyond any Thing I ever saw. They live in a great *Simplicity* as to their *Habit* and *Furniture*, but they have plenty of all Things, and are extream rich: The
Family

Family where we were so nobly entertained, is believed to have about two hundred thousand *Crowns*. Here the *Italian Custom*, of one only of a Family that marries, takes Place generally. There is a sort of *Pots* of *Stone* that is used not only in all the *Kitchens* here, but almost all *Lombardy* over, called *Lavege*; the *Stone* feels oily and scaly, so that a *Scale* sticks to ones *Fingers* that touches it, and is somewhat of the Nature of a *Slate*: There are but three *Mines* of it known in these Parts, one near *Chavennés*, another in the *Valtelline*, and the third in the *Grisons*; but the first is much the best: They generally cut it in the *Mine* round, of about a Foot and a half Diameter, and about a Foot and quarter thick, and they work it in a *Mill*, where the *Chizzels* that cut the *Stone* are driven about by a *Wheel* that is set going by *Water*, and which is so ordered, that he who manages the *Chizzel*, very easily draws forward the *Wheel* out of the *Course* of the *Water*: They turn off first the outward *Coat* of this *Stone*, till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one *Pot* after another by those small and hooked *Chizzels*, by which they make a *Nest* of *Pots*, all one within another, the outward and biggest being as big as an ordinary *Beef-pot*, and the inward *Pot* being no bigger than a small *Pipkin*; these they Arm with *Hooks* and *Circles* of *Brass*, and so they are served by them in their *Kitchens*. One of these *Stone-pots* takes heat and boils sooner than any *Pot* of *Mettle*; and whereas the *Bottoms* of *Mettle-pots* transmit the *Heat* so intirely to the *Liquor* within, that they are not insufferable hot, the *Bottom* of this *Stone-pot*, which is about twice as thick as a *Pot* of *Mettle*, burns extreamly: It never cracks neither gives it any sort of *Taste* to the *Liquor* that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the *Ground*, it is very brittle; yet this is repaired by patching it up; for they piece their broken *Pots* so close, tho without any *Cement*, by sowing, with *Iron-wire*, the broken *Parcels* together, that in the *Holes* which they

they pierce with the Wire, there is not the least Breach made, except that which the Wire both makes and fills. The Passage to this Mine is very inconvenient; for they must creep into it for near half a Mile thro' a Rock, that is so hard that the Passage is not above three Foot high; and so those that draw out the Stones creep all along upon their Belly, having a Candle fastned in their Forehead, and the Stone laid on a sort of Cushion made for it upon their Hips. The Stones are commonly two hundred Weight.

But having mentioned some Falls of Mountains in those Parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary Fate of the Town of Pleurs, that was about a League from Chavennes to the North, in the same Bottom, but on a Ground that is a little more raised. The Town was half the Bigness of Chavennes; the Number of the Inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred Persons, but it was much more nobly built; for besides the the great Palace of the Francken, that cost some Millions, there were many other Palaces that were built by several rich Factors, both of Milan and the other Parts of Italy, who lik'd the Situation and Air, as well as the Freedom of the Government of this Place; so they used to come hither during the Heats, and here they gave themselves all the Indulgences that a vast Wealth could furnish. By one of the Palaces, that was a little Distance from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an Out-house of the Family of the Francken, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in Italy; and certainly, House and Gardens could not cost so little as one hundred thousand Crowns. The Voluptuousness of this Place became very crying, and Madam de Salis told me, that she heard her Mother often relate some Passages of a Protestant Minister's Sermons, that preached in a little Church, which those of the Religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their Heads, and that he believed

believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the twenty fifth of *August*, 1618, an *Inhabitant* came and told them to be gone; for he saw the *Mountain* cleaving; but he was laughed at for his Pains. He had a *Daughter*, whom he persuaded to leave all and go with him; but when she was gone out of the *Town* with him, she called to mind that she had not locked the Door of a Room in which she had some Things of Value, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest: For at the Hour of Supper the *Hill* fell down, and buried the *Town* and all the *Inhabitants*, so that not one Person escaped. The Fall of the *Mountains* did so fill the Channel of the *River*, that the first News those of *Chavennes* had of it, was by the failing of their *River*; for three or four Hours there came not a Drop of *Water*; but the *River* wrought for it self a new Course, and returned to them; I could hear no particular Character of the Man who escaped, so I must leave the secret Reason of so singular a Preservation to the great Discovery at the last Day, of those Steps of Divine Providence, that are now so unaccountable. Some of the *Family* of the *Francken* got some *Miners* to work under Ground, to find out the *Wealth* that was buried in their *Palace*; for besides the *Plate* and *Furniture*, there was a great deal of *Cash* and many *Jewels* in the House. The *Miners* pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their Country of *Tirol*, and built fine Houses, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other visible Account could be given but this, that they had found some of that Treasure. The chief *Factors* of *Italy* have been *Grisons*; and they told me, that as the Trade of *Banking* began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over, a *Lombard* and a *Bank* signified the same Thing, so the great *Bankers* of *Lombardy* were *Grisons*; and to this Day the *Grisons* drive a great Trade in *Money*; for a Man there of a hundred thousand *Crowns* Estate, hath not perhaps a third Part of this within the Country, but put

it out in the neighbouring States : And the Liberty of this Country is such, that the *Natives* when they have made up *Estates* elsewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the best Parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among those *Mountains*, of which the very Sight is enough to fill a Man with Horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two Hours thro' a Plain to the Lake of *Chavennes*, which is almost round, and is about two Miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of *Como*, over against the Fort *Fuentes*; when we passed there, the Water was so low, that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank that lay between the two Lakes. The Lake of *Como* is about eight and forty Miles long, and four broad, it runs between two Ranges of Hills. I did not stay long enough in *Como* to give any Description of it; for I thought to have returned that Way from a little Tour that I made into the *Bailiages* that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugane*, *Locarno* and *Bellinzona*; but I took another Course, so I saw nothing in *Como*: The best thing in it is a fine Chapel, which the present Pope, who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight Miles to *Codelaggo*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight Miles of Lake. This Lake doth not run in an even current, as the other Lakes that rise under the *Alps*; but the Situation of the Hills about it, throws it into several Courses.

The *Switzers* have here several little *Provinces* or *Bailiages*, of which, during the Wars of *Italy*, between the Dukes of *Milan* and the two Crowns in *Francis* the first, and *Charles* the fifth's Time, they possess'd themselves of as a Pledge for Payment of their Arrears; and they were then such considerable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the *Dutchy* of *Milan* Court them by turns, and became the peaceable Possessors of almost all that Tract that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Country of the *Valeffi*, or the Valleys. The *Inhabitants* here are so well used, they live so free of all Impositions, and the *Switzer's* Government is so gentle, that here I must tell you ano-

ther Paradox, This is the worst Country, the least Productive, the most exposed to Cold, and the least capable of Trade of all *Italy*; and yet it is by far the best peopled of any that I saw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the *Bailiage* of *Lugane* alone, ninety-nine *Villages*, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve ancient *Cantons* have their Turns of all the *Bailiages* and other Offices here; but when it comes to the Turn of those of the Religion their *Bailiffs* must be contented with private Devotions in their own *House*, but can have no publick Exercises, nor so much as a *Minister* in their Houses. For here, as in the *Valtelline*, when the *Spaniards* confirmed the Right of the *Cantons* to those Territories, they made an expresse Provision, that no Religion except the *Popish* should be tolerated here; so that the *Bailiff*, who is the *Prince*, often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in these Parts. The *Bailiffs* here make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more Caution; for they take great care not to give the *Natives* any Distaste, tho' the Miseries, to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live should by all Appearance deliver their Masters from any great Apprehensions of a Revolt. A great many *Mechanicks* of all sorts live in these Parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all Taxes. I was told, that some *Nephews* of *Popes*, in particular the *Barberines*, had treated with the *Switzers*, to buy this Country from them, and so to erect it into a *Principality*; and that they had resolved to offer twelve thousand *Crowns* to the twelve *Cantons*; but they found it would certainly be rejected, so they made not the Proposition to the *Diet* of the *Cantons*, as they once intended; and it is certain, whensoever this Country is brought under a Yoke, like that which the rest of *Italy* bears, it will be soon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws so many People to live in so ill a Soil, when they are in Sight of the better Soil.

Soil of Europe, but the Easiness of the Government. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble Lake, it is six and fifty Miles long, and in most Places six Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the Middle of it, it makes a great Bay to the West-ward; and there lies here two Islands, called the *Borromean Islands*, that are certainly the loveliest Spots of Ground in the World; there is nothing in all Italy, that can be compared to them: They have the full View of the Lake, and the Ground rises so sweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the *Terrasses* here: They belong to two Counts of the *Borromean Family*. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the Head of the Family, who is Nephew to the famous Cardinal, known by the Name of St. Carlo. On the West-end lies the Palace, which is one of the best of Italy for the Lodgings within, tho' the Architecture is but ordinary; there is one noble Apartment above four and twenty Foot high, and there is a vast Addition making to it; and here is a great Collection of noble Pictures beyond any thing I saw out of Rome: The whole Island is a Garden, except a little Corner to the South, set off for a Village of about forty little Houses; and because the Figure of the Island was not more regular by Nature, they have built great *Vaults* and *Portico's* along the Rock, which are all made Grotesque, and so they have brought it to a regular Form by laying Earth over those *Vaults*. There is first a Garden to the East, that rises up from the Lake by five Rows of *Terrasses*, on the three Sides of the Garden that are watered by the Lake; the Stairs are noble; the Walls are all covered with *Oranges* and *Citrons*, and a more beautiful Spot of a Garden cannot be seen: There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden, the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a noble Summer-House all wainscotted, if I may speak so, with *Alabaster* and *Marble* of a fine Colour, inclining to red. From this Garden one goes in a Level to all the rest of the *Alleys* and *Parterres*, *Herb-Gardens* and *Flower-Gardens*; in all

which there are Variety of *Fountains* and *Arbors*: But the great *Parterre* is a surprizing thing; for as it is well furnished with *Statues* and *Fountains*, and is of a vast Extent, and justly situated to the Palace, so at the further End of it there is a great *Mount*; that Face of it that looks to the *Parterre* is made like a *Theatre*, all full of *Fountains* and *Statues*, the Height rising up in five several Rows, it being about fifty Foot high, and about fourscore Foot in Front; and round this *Mount*, answering to the five Rows into which the *Theatre* is divided, there goes as many *Terrasses* of noble Walks; the *Walls* are all as close cover'd with *Oranges* and *Citrons*, as any of our *Walls* in *England* are with *Laurel*: The Top of the *Mount* is seventy Foot long and forty broad; and here is a vast *Cistern*, into which the Mill plays up the Water that must furnish all the *Fountains*. The *Fountains* were not quite finished when I was there; when all is finished, this Place will look like an *Inchanted Island*. The Freshness of the Air, it being both in a *Lake*, and near the *Mountains*, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Prospect, and the delighting Variety that is here, makes it such a Habitation for *Summer*, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Sestio*, a miserable *Village* at the end of the *Lake*, and here I began to feel a mighty Change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifullest Country that can be imagined, the Ground lies so even, it is so well watered, so sweetly divided by Rows of Trees, inclosing every Piece of Ground of an Acre or two Acres Compass, that it cannot be denied, that here is a vast Extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long, and in many Places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole Country is equal to the loveliest Spots in all *England*, or *France*; it hath all the Sweetness that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun, and a better Air; the Neighbourhood of the *Mountains* causes a Freshness of Air here, that makes the Soil the most desirable Place to live in that can be seen, if the Government were not so excessively severe,

that there is nothing but *Poverty* over all this *rich* Country. A *Traveller* in many *Places* finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy *Provisions* in the great *Towns*, he will be obliged to a very severe *Diet*, in a Country that he should think flowed with *Milk* and *Honey*, but I shall say more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* discharges it self into the *River Tefine*, which runs with such a *Force*, that we went thirty *Miles* in three *Hours*, having but one *Rower*, and the *Water* was no way swelled. From this we went into the *Canal*, which *Francis* the first cut from this *River* to the *Town* of *Milan*, which is about thirty *Foot* broad, and on both its *Banks* there are such *Provisions* to discharge the *Water* when it rises to such a *Height*, that it can never be fuller of *Water* than is intended it should be ; it lies also so even, that sometimes for six *Miles* together one sees the line so exact, that there is not the least *Crook* : It is thirty *Miles* long, and is the best *Advantage* that the *Town* of *Milan* hath for *Water-Carriage*.

I will not entertain you with a long *Description* of this great *City*, which is one of the noblest in the *World*, to be an *Inland Town*, that hath no great *Court*, no *Commerce*, either by *Sea*, or any *Navigable River*, and that is now the *Metropolis* of a very small *State* ; for that which is not *Mountainous* in this *State*, is not above sixty *Miles* square, and yet it produces a *Wealth* that is surprizing: It pays for an *Establishment* of seven and forty thousand *Men*, and yet there are not sixteen thousand *Soldiers* effectively in it ; so many are eat up by those in whose *Hands* the *Government* is lodg'd : But the *Vastness* of the *Town*, the *Nobleness* of the *Buildings*, and above all, the surprizing *Riches* of the *Churches* and *Convents*, are *Signs* of great *Wealth* ; The *Dome* hath nothing to commend it of *Architecture*, it being built in the rude *Gothick* *Manner* ; but for the *Vastness* and *Riches* of the *Building* it is equal to any in *Italy*, *St. Peter's* itself not excepted. It is all *Marble*, both *Pavement* and *Walls*, both *Outside* and *Inside*, and on the *Top* it is all flagg'd with
Marble ;

Marble; and there is the vastest Number of *Niches* for *Statues* of *Marble*, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true, the *Statues* in some of the *Niches* are not proportion'd to the *Niches* themselves: The *Frontispiece* is not yet made: It is to be all over covered with *Statues* and *Bas-reliefs*; and the *Pillars*, of which there are four Rows in the Body of the Church, have each of them eight *Niches* at the Top, for so many *Statues*; and tho' one would think this Church so full of *Statues*, that almost every *Saint* hath his *Statue*, yet I was assur'd they wanted *seven Thousand* to finish the Design; but these must chiefly belong to the *Frontispiece*. The Church, as I could measure it by walking over it in an equal Pace, is five hundred Foot long, and two hundred wide; the *Quire* is wainscotted and carv'd in so extraordinary a manner, that I never saw *Passion* so well express'd in *Wood*: It contains sixty Stalls, and they have almost all the *Histories* of the *Gospel* represented in them. Just under the *Cupulo* lies *St. Carlo's* Body, as I was told, in a in great Case of *Chrystal* of vast Value; but I could not come near it; for we were there on two *Holidays*, and there was a perpetual Crowd about it; and the Superstition of the People for his Body, is such, that on a *Holiday* one runs a Hazard that comes near it without doing some Reverence. His *Canonization* cost the Town an hundred thousand *Crowns*. They pretend they have *Miracles* too for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromeo*; but they will not set about his *Canonization*, the Price is so high. The *Plate* and other Presents made to *St. Carlo* are things of a prodigious Value; some *Services* for the *Altar* are all of *Gold*, some very Massy, and set with *Jewels*, others so finely wrought, that the Fashion is thought equal to the Value of the Mettle; the *Habits* and all the other *Ornaments* for the Function of his *Canonization* are of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a *Prelate* of great Merit, and according to the Answer a *Frier* made to *Philip de Comines*, when he ask'd him how they come to qualify one of the worst of their *Princes* with the Title

of Saint in an Inscription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors. Never Man deserved of a Town this Title so justly as Cardinal Borromeo did; for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in Milan, leaving nothing to his Family, but the Honour of having produced so great a Man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it; for as there have been since that Time two Cardinals of that Family, so it is esteem'd a *Casa Santa*; and every time that it produces an Ecclesiastick of any considerable Merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this Archbishoprick; for if there were one of the Family capable of it, and did not carry it, that alone might dispose the State to Rebellion, and he were a bold Man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome, and consecrated it, tho' the Work will not be quite finish'd yet for some Ages; that being one of the Crafts of the Italian Priests, never to finish a great Design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinish'd Estate, they may be always drawing great Donatives to it from the Superstition of the People. He built the Archbishop's Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a College for the Switzers, several Parish Churches, and many Convents. In short the whole Town is full of Marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the Churches of Milan strike one with Amazement, the Buildings, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are all Signs both of great Wealth, and of a very powerful Superstition; but their Libraries not only here, but all Italy over, are scandalous things; the Room is often fine, and richly adorn'd, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worse chosen; and the Ignorance of the Priests, both secular and regular, is such, that no Man, that hath not had occasion to discover it, can easily believe it. The Convent of St. Victor, that is without the Town, is by much the richest; it is composed of Canons Regular, called in Italy the Order of Mount Olive, or Olivetan; that of the Barnabites

nabites is extream rich, there is a *Pulpit* and a *Confessional* all inlaid with *Agates* of different Colours, finely spotted *Marbles*, and of *Lapis Lazulis*, that are thought almost inestimable. *St. Laurence* has a noble *Cupulo*, and a *Pulpit* of the same Form with that of the *Barnabites*. The *Jesuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *St. Sebastians* are very rich. The *Citadel* is too well known to need a Description; it is very regularly built, and is a most effectual Restraint to keep the *Town* in order, but it could not stand out against a good *Army* three Days; for it is so little, and so full of Buildings, that it could not resist a Shower of *Bombs*. The *Hospital* is indeed a royal Building: I was told it had ninety thousand *Crowns* Revenue. The old *Court* is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new *Court* that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty Foot square, and there are three Rows of *Corridors* or *Galleries*, all round the *Court*, one in every Stage, according to the *Italian* Manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a *Gallery* before every Door: It is true these take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten Foot broad; but then here is an open Space, that is extream cool on that Side where the Sun doth not lye; for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only supported by *Pillars*, at the Distance of fifteen or twenty Foot one from another. In this *Hospital* there are not only *Galleries* full of *Beds* on both Sides, as is ordinary in all *Hospitals*; but there are also a great many *Chambers*, in which Persons, whose Condition was formerly distinguished, are treated with a particular Care. There is an *Out-house*, which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the Walls, which belongs to this *Hospital*, it is an exact quarter of a Mile square, and there are three hundred and sixty *Rooms* in it, and a *Gallery* runs all along before the *Chambers*, so that as the Service is convenient, the Sick have a cover'd Walk before their Doors. In the Middle of this vast Square there is an *Octangular Chapel*, so contrived, that the Sick from all their Beds may

may see the *Elevation* of the *Hostie*, and adore it: This *House* is for the *Plague*, or for infectious *Fevers*; and the *Sick* that want a freer *Air*, are also remov'd hither.

As for the *Devotions* of this Place, I saw here the *Ambrosian Office*, which is distinguished from the *Roman*, both in the *Musick* which is much simpler, and in some other *Rites*: The *Gospel* is read in a high *Pulpit* at the lower end of the *Quire*, that so it may be heard by all the *People*; tho' this is needless, since it is read in a *Language* that they do not understand: When they go to say high *Mass*, the *Priest* comes from the high *Altar*, to the lower end of the *Quire*, where the *Offertory* of the *Bread* and the *Wine* is made by some of the *Laity*; they were *Nuns* that made it when I was there, I heard a *Capucin* preach here: It was the first *Sermon* I heard in *Italy*, and I was much surprized at many comical Expressions and Gestures, but most of all with the Conclusion; for there being in all the *Pulpits* of *Italy* a *Crucifix* on the Side of the *Pulpit* towards the *Altar*, he, after a long Address to it, at last in a forced Transport, took it in his *Arms*, and hugged it, and kissed it: But I observed, that before he kissed it, he seeing some *Dust* on it, blew it off very carefully; for I was just under the *Pulpit*: He entertained it with a long and tender Carefs, and held it out to the *People*, and would have forced Tears both from himself and them; yet I saw none shed. But if the *Sermon* in the Morning surprized me, I wonder'd no less at two *Discourses* that I heard in one *Church* at the same Time, in the Afternoon; for there were two Bodies of *Men* set down in different Places of the *Church*, all covered, and two *Laymen* in ordinary Habits were entertaining them with *Discourses* of *Religion* in a *Catechistical* Stile: These were *Confrairies*, and those were some of the more Devout, that instructed the rest. This, as I never saw any where else, so I do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan*, or not. My *Conductor* could not speak *Latin*, and the *Italian* there is so different from the true *Tuscan*, which I only knew, that I could not understand him when he was

ingaged in a long Discourse, so I was not clearly informed of this Matter; but I am apt to think, it might have been some Institution of Cardinal Borromeo. The *Ambrosian Library*, founded by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, is a very noble Room, and well furnished, only it is too full of *School-men* and *Canonists*; which are the chief Studies of *Italy*, and it hath too few Books of a more solid and useful Learning. One Part of the Disposition of the Room was pleasant; there is a great Number of *Chairs*, placed all round it at a competent Distance from one another; and to every *Chair* there belongs a *Desk*, with an *Ecritoire*, that hath Pen, Ink and Paper in it; so that every Man finds Tools here for such Extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of *Manuscripts* at the end of the great Gallery, but the *Library-keeper* knows little of them: A great many of them relate to their *St. Charles*. I saw some Fragments of *Latin Bibles*, but none seemed to be above six hundred Years old; there are also some Fragments of *St. Ambrose's Works*, and of *St. Jerome's Epistles*, that are of the same Antiquity. I was sorry not to find *St. Ambrose's Works* intire, that I might have seen, whether the *Books* of the *Sacrament* are ascribed to him in ancient Copies; for perhaps they belong to a more modern Author. It is true, in these Books, the Doctrine of a sort of a *corporal Presence* is asserted in very high Expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it than all those Citations can be for it; for the Author gives us the formal Words of the Prayer of Consecration in his Time, which he Prefaces with some Solemnity: *Will you know how the Change is wrought, hear the Heavenly Words? For the Priest saith, &c.* But whereas in the present Canon of the Mass, the Prayer of Consecration is for a good Part of it very near in the same Words with those which he mentions, there is one essential Difference; for in the Canon they now pray, that the *Hostie* may be to them the *Body and Blood of Christ*, (which by the Way doth not agree too well with the Notion of *Transubstantiation*,

tion, and approacheth more to the Doctrine of the Lutherans :) Whereas in the Prayer cited by that Author, the *Hostie* is said to be the *Figure of the Body and Blood of Christ*. Here is the Language of the whole Church of that Time, and in the most important Part of the *Divine Office*, which signifieth more to me than a thousand Quotations out of particular Writers, which are but their private Opinions ; but this is the Voice of the whole Body in its Addresses to God : And it seems, the Church of Rome, when the new Doctrine of the *Corporal Presence* was received, saw that this Prayer of Consecration could not consist with it, which made her change such a main Part of the Office. This gave me a Curiosity every where to search for ancient Offices ; but I found none in the Abbey of St. Germans, that seemed older than the Times of Charles the Great, so I found none of any great Antiquity in all Italy : Those published by Cardinal Bona, and since by P. Mabillon, that were brought from Heidelberg, are the most Ancient that are in the Vatican ; but these seem not to be above eight hundred Years old. There are none of the ancient Roman Offices now to be seen in the Vatican. I was amazed to find none of any great Antiquity, which made me conclude, that either they were destroyed, that so the Difference between ancient and modern Rituals might not be turned against that Church, as an undeniable Evidence to prove the Changes that she hath made in divine Matters ; or, that they were so well kept, that Hereticks were not to be suffered to look into them. But to return to the Ambrosian Library, there is in it a Manuscript of great Antiquity, tho' not of such great consequence, which is Ruffinus's Translation of Josephus, that is written in the old Roman Hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a Deed in the curious Collection that Count Mascardo hath made at Verona, which by the Date appears to have been written in Theodosius's Time, which is the same sort of writing with the Manuscript of Ruffinus, so that it may be reckoned to have been writ in Ruffinus's own Time, and this is the most valuable, tho' the least known Curiosity in the whole Library. I need

I need not say any thing of the curious *Works* in *Chrystal* that are to be seen in *Milan*; the greatest Quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any farther Inlargement. It is certain, the *Alps* have much *Wealth* shut up in their *Rocks*, if the *Inhabitants* knew how to search for it; but I heard of no *Mines* that were wrought except *Iron Mines*; yet by the colourings, that in many Places the *Fountains* make, as they run along the *Rocks*, one sees cause to believe that there are *Mines* and *Minerals* shut up within them. *Gold* hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The last *Curiosity* that I shall mention of the Town of *Milan*, is the *Cabinet* of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brother's Hands, where there are a great many very valuable things, both of *Art* and *Nature*: There is a Lump of *Ore*, in which there is both *Gold* and *Silver*, and *Emeralds*, and *Diamonds*, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious *Motions*, where by an unseen Spring, a *Ball*, after it hath rowled down thro' many winding *Descents*, is thrown up, and so it seems to be a perpetual Motion: This is done in several Forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the *Vulgar*. Many *Motions* of little *Animals*, that run about by Springs, are also very pretty. There is a *Loadstone* of a vast Force, that carries a great *Chain*. There is also a monstrous *Child*, that was lately born in the *Hospital*, which is preserved in *Spirit of Wine*: It is double below, it hath one *Breast* and *Neck*, two *Pair of Ears*, a vast *Head*, and but one *Face*. As for the *Buildings* in *Milan*, they are big and substantial; but they have not much regular, or beautiful *Architecture*: The *Governor's Palace* hath some noble *Apartments* it: The chief *Palace* of the Town is that of the *Homo ei*, which was built by a *Banker*. There is one *Inconveniency* in *Milan*, which throws down all the *Pleasure* that one can find in it: They have no *Glass Windows*, so that one is either exposed to the *Air*, or shut up in a *Dungeon*, and this

this is so Universal, that there is not one House of ten that hath *Glass* in their *Windows*. The same Defect is in *Florence*, besides all the small Towns of *Italy*, which is an Effect of their Poverty: For what by the Oppression of the Government, what by the no less squeezing Oppressions of their *Priests*; who drain all the rest of their Wealth, that is not eat up by the *Prince*, to enrich their *Churches* and *Convents*, the People here are reduced to a Poverty, that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their *Churches*: And this is going on so constantly in *Milan*, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a Treasure can be found; but *Purgatory* is a Fund not easily exhausted. The Wealth of the *Milanese*, consists chiefly in their *Silks*; and that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Importations that the *East India Companies* brings into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very sensibly, and languish extreamly by the great fall that is in the *Silk-Trade*. There is a great Magnificence in *Milan*; the *Nobility* affect to make a noble Appearance, both in their Clothes, their Coaches, and their Attendants; and the *Women* go abroad with more Freedom here than any Town of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your Knowledge. I am,

Yours,

POSTSCRIPT.

In the Account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary Person that is there, *Mistress Walkier*; her Father is of *Shaff-house*, The lost her Sight when she was but a Year old, by being too near a Stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper Part of her Eye so much Sight, that she distinguishes Day from Night; and when any Person stands between her and the Light, she will distinguish by the Head and it's dress a Man from

from a Woman; but when she turns down her Eyes, she sees nothing: She hath a vast Memory; besides the *French*, that is her natural Language, she speaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*. She hath all the *Psalms* by heart, in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: She understands the *Old Philosophy* well, and is now studying the *New*: She hath studied the Body of *Divinity* well, and hath the *Text* of the *Scriptures* very ready; on all which Matters I had long Conversation with her: She not only *Sings* well, but she *Plays* rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told, she played on the *Violin*; but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she *Writes* legibly. In order to her Learning to write, her Father, who is a worthy Man, and hath such Tenderness for her, that he furnisheth her with Masters of all Sorts, ordered *Letters* to be carved in Wood, and she by feeling the *Characters*, formed such an *Idea* of them, that she *Writes* with a *Crayon* so distinctly, that her Writing can be well read, of which I have several *Essays*. I saw her Write; she doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; she hath a Machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her always in Line: But that which is above all the rest, she is a Person of extraordinary Devotion, great Resignation to the Will of God, and a profound Humility. The *Preceptor*, that her Father kept in the House with her, hath likewise a wonderful Faculty of acquiring *Tongues*. When he came first to *Geneva*, (for he is of *Zurich*,) he spoke not a Word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he preach'd in *French* correctly, and with a good Accent. He also began to study *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the End of the following *February* he preach'd in *Italian*; his Accent was good, and his Style was florid, which was very extraordinary; for the *Italian Language* is not spoken in *Geneva*, tho' the Race of the *Italians* do keep up still an *Italian Church* there.

A Letter from FLORENCE.

I Have now another Month over my Head since I writ last to you, and so I know you expect an Account of the most considerable Things that have occurred to me since my last from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan*, we pass thro' *Lodi*, a miserable Garrison, tho' a Frontier Town: But indeed, the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as those of the other *Princes* of *Italy*, shew, that they are not very Apprehensive of one another; and when one passes thro' those Places, which are represented in *History* as Places of great Strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge that the Sight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them a great many Degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was so long the Seat of War, could not stand out against a good Army now so many Days as it did then Years. The Garrison of *Crema*, which is the first of the *Venetian* Territory is no better than that of *Lodi*, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominion live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The *Senate* sends *Podesta's*, much like the *Bailiffs* of the *Switzers*, who order the Justice and the Civil Government of the *Jurisdiction* assigned them. There is also a *Captain General*, who hath the Military Authority in his Hands; and these two are Checks upon one another; as the *Bassa's* and the *Cadi's* are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema*, the Town is so small, that both these are in one Person. We were there in the Time of the Fair; *Linnen Cloth*, and *Cheese*, (which tho' it goes by the Name of the *Parmesan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Commodities of the Fair. The Magnificence of the *Podesta* appeared very extraordinary;

ry; for he went thro' the *Fair* with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches, in which he and his Lady rode, were both extraordinary rich: His was a huge Bed-coach, all the Out-side black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined with black Damask flowered with Gold. From *Crema*, it is thirty Miles to *Brescia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth; here they make the best *Barrells* for *Pistols* and *Muskets* of all *Italy*. There are great Iron-works near it; but the *War* with the *Turks* had occasioned an Order, that none might be sold without a Permission from *Venice*. They are building a noble *Dome* at *Brescia*. I was shewed a *Nunnery* there, which is now under a great *Disgrace*: Some *Years* ago a new *Bishop* coming thither, began with the Visitation of that *Nunnery*; he discovered two *Vaults*, by one, *Men* came ordinarily into it; and by another, the *Nuns* that were big, went and lay in of Child-bed. When he was examining the *Nuns* severely concerning those *Vaults*, some of them told him, that his own *Priests* did much worse. He shut up the *Nuns*, so that those who are professed live still there; but none come to take the *Veil*: And by this Means the House will soon come to an End. The *Citadel* lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here, and in *Crema*, the Towns have begun a Complement within these last ten or twelve *Years* to their *Podesta's*, which is a Matter of great Ornament to their *Palaces*, but will grow to a vast Charge; for they erect *Statues* to their *Podesta's*: And this being once begun, must be carried on; otherwise those to whom the like Honour is not done, will resent it as a high Affront; and the *Revenge*s of the Noble *Venetians* are dreadful Things to their Subjects. This Name of *Podesta* is very ancient, for in the *Roman* Times, the Chief *Magistrates* of the lesser Towns were called the *Potestas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal*, *Fidenarum Cuiuslibet esse Potestas*.

From *Brescia*, the Beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted; for as all the Way from *Milan* to *Brescia* is as one *Garden*, so here on the one Side we come under the *Mountains*, and we pass by the *Lake of Garda*, which is forty Miles long, and where it is Broadest, it is twenty Miles over. The Miles indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream short; for I walk'd often four or five Miles in a Walk, and found a thousand Paces made their common Mile: But in *Tuscany*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*; the Mile is fifteen hundred Paces. We pass thro' a great Heath for seven or eight Miles on this Side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many rich *Churches* in it; but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little Money going, that it is not easie here to change a *Pistole* without taking their Coin of base Alloy, which doth not pass out the *Veronesne*: For this seems a strange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to suffer those small *States* to retain still a Coin peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the *Amphitheatre*, one of the last of all that the *Romans* built; but the best preserved: For the most of the great Stones of the Out-side are pickt out; yet the great sloping *Vault*, on which the Rows of the Seats are laid, is intire; the Rows of the Seats are also intire, they are four and forty Rows; every Row is a Foot and half high, and as much in Breadth, so that a Man sits conveniently in them, under the Feet of those of the higher Row: And allowing every Man a Foot and a Half, the whole *Amphitheatre* can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the *Vaults* under the Rows of Seats, were the Stalls of the *Beasts* that were presented to entertain the Company. The Thickness of the Building, from the Out-ward Wall to the lowest Row of Seats, is ninety Foot: But this noble Remnant of *Antiquity* is so often and so copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next Thing of Value is, the famous

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mous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count Mascardo, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms, all furnish'd with *Antiquities* and *Rarities*. There are some old Inscriptions, made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the great Honour of *M. Crassius*: There is a Collection of *Medals* and *Medallions*, of the *Roman Weights*, with their Instruments for their *Sacrifices*: There are many *Curiosities* of Nature, and a great Collection of *Pictures*, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese's* Hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona*, that riseth up in *Terrasses* the whole Heighth of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to Count *Giusto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is thirty Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*: For there is all the Way as it were a Succession of *Gardens*; the Ground is better cultivated here, than I saw it in any other Place of *Italy*: But the *Wine* is not good; for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree, to which it joins: But the Soil is too rich to produce a rich *Wine*; for that requires a dry Ground. There is near the Lake of *Guarda* a very extraordinary *Wine*, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best Sort of *Canary*; it is not made till *Christmas*, and from thence it carries the Name of *Holy Wine*, and it is not to be drunk till *Midsummer*; for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear; but I have not marked down how long it may be kept: We had it there for a Groat an *English Quart*: I have wondered that they did not Trade with it. All the *Cattle* of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their *Hogs* are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are all red. I will not inquire into the Reasons of these Things: It is certain that *Hog's Flesh* in *Italy*, is much better than it is in *France* and *England*; whether the *Truffs*, on which they feed much in *Winter*, occasion this or not, I know not: The Husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty Nourishment to them; but Cattle of that

grayish

grayish Colour are certainly weaker. The Carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them; and this is very hard Work in *Lombardy* when it hath rained ever so little, for the Ground being quite level, and there being no raised High-ways, or Cause-ways, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath still more of its ancient Liberty reserved than any of these Towns, as *Padua* hath less; for it delivered it self to the *Venetains*; whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low. One sees the Marks of Liberty in *Vincenza* in the Riches of their *Palaces* and *Churches*, of which many are newly built. They have a modern *Theatre*, made in Imitation of the ancient *Roman Theatres*. Count *Valarano's Gardens* at the Port of *Verona*, is the finest Thing of the Town: There is in it a very noble Alley of *Oranges* and *Citrons*, some as big as a Man's Body, but those are covered all the *Winter* long; for in this appears the sensible Difference of *Lombardy* from those Parts of *Italy* that lie to the South of the *Apenins*, that here generally they keep their *Oranges* and *Citrons* in great Boxes, as we do in *England*; that so they may be lodged in *Winter*, and defended from the Breezes that blow sometimes so sharp from the *Alps*, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants; whereas, in *Tuscany* they grow as other Trees in their *Gardens*; and in the *Kingdom of Naples* they grow wild, without any Care or Cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a *Holy Day*; and there I saw a Preparation for a Procession that was to be in the Afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French Papist* said to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the *Idolatri* in it was so gross. The Statue of the *Virgin* was of Wood, so finely painted, that I thought the Head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on it's Head, and set full of Flowers: How they did when it was carried about I do not know; but in the Morning all People ran to it, and said their Prayers to it,

and kissed the Ground before it, with all the Appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is eighteen Miles to *Padua*, all like a Garden. Here one sees the Decays of a vast City, which was once one of the biggest of all *Italy*: The Compass is the same that it was; but there is much uninhabited Ground in it, and Houses there go almost for nothing: The Air is extream good, and there is so great a Plenty of all Things, except Money, that a little Money goes a great Way. The *University* here, tho' so much supported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty *Professors*, yet sinks extreamly: There are no Men of any great Fame now in it; and the Quarrels among the *Students*, have driven away most of the *Strangers* that used to come and study here; for it is not safe to stir abroad here after Sun-set. The Number of the *Palaces* here is incredible, and tho' the *Nobility* of *Padua* are almost quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their ancient *Palaces* shews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient Quarrels that were in all those conquered Cities still continue among them; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their *Revenge* afterwards, both comes under the *Bando* by this Means, and the Confiscation goes to the *Senate*. At sometimes of *Grace*, when the *Senate* wants Money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the Numbers of the guilty Persons are incredible. In *Vincenza*, and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by *Monsieur Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many Years a *Professor* in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last *Grace*. This I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his Word. The *Nobility* of *Padua*, and of the other Towns, seem not to see what a Profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their *Families*; for one Family, in the same Man's Time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thousand

land *Ducats* Revenue, to less than three thousand; by its falling at several Times under the *Bando*. But their Jealousies and their Revenges are pursued by them with so much Vigor, that when these are in their Way all other Things are forgot by them. There is here the Remnant of the *Amphitheatre*, tho' nothing but the outward Wall stands. There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the *City*, and an outward without that, called the *Bourgo*; but tho' there is a Ditch about the *City*, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in compass: It lies almost round. The publick *Hall* is the noblest of *Italy*. The *Dome* is an ancient and mean Building; but the *Church* of *St. Anthony*, especially the *Holy Chapel* in it, where the *Saint* lies, is one of the best Pieces of modern Sculpture; for round the *Chapel*, the chief *Miracles*, in the Legend of that *Saint*, are represented in *Mizxo Relievo*, in a very surprizing Manner. The Devotion that is paid to this *Saint*, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing: He is called by way of Excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his sake. But among the little Vows that hang without the *Holy Chapel*, there is one that is the highest Pitch of *Blasphemy* that can be imagined; *Exaudit*, speaking of the *Saint*, *quos non audit & ipse Deus*. He hears those whom God himself doth not hear. *St. Justina* is a *Church* so well ordered within, the *Architecture* is so beautiful, it is so well inlightened, and the *Cupulo's* are so advantageously placed, that if the Outside answered the Inside, it would be one of the best *Churches* of *Italy*; but the Building is of Brick and it hath no Frontispiece: There are many new *Altars*, made as fine as they are idolatrous, all full of *Statues* of Marble. This *Abbey*, hath an hundred thousand *Ducats* of Revenue, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine Order*. *Cardinal Barberigo* is *Bishop* here: He seems to set *St. Carlo* before him as his Pattern: He hath founded a noble *Seminary* for the

the secular *Priests*. He lives in a constant Discipline himself, and endeavours to reform his *Clergy* all he can; but he is now in ill Terms with his *Canons*, who are all *Noble Venetians*, and so allow themselves great Liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: He is charitable to a high Degree, and is in all Respects a very extraordinary Man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their Subjects live ease and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their *Quarrels*; but tho' the Taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the *Peasants* live most miserably; yet on all Hands round about them, the Oppression being more intollerable, they know not whither to go for Ease; whereas, on the contrary, the Miseries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly those of the *Ecclesiastical State*, send in an Encrease of People among them, so that they are well stock'd with People; but the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding Military Matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their *Wars*: This Jealousy is the true Ground of that Maxim, though another is pretended that is more plausible, which is, their Care of their own People, whom they study to preserve, and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expose their Subjects. It is certain, a Revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate; for the *Garrisons* and *Fortifications* are so slight, that those great *Towns* could easily shake off their Yoke, if it were not for the *Factions* that still reign among them, by which one Party would chuse rather to expose the other to the Rigour of the *Inquisitors*, than concur with them in asserting their Liberty; and the *Inquisitors* in such Cases proceed so secretly, and yet so effectually, that none dares trust another with a Secret of such Consequence; and the oppressed *Nobility* of those *States*, retain still so much of their old unsubdu'd Insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as secure in those Conquests as if they had many strong

Citadels,

Citadels, and numerous Garrisons, spread up and down among them. From Padua down to Venice, all along the River Brent, there are many Palaces of the Noble Venetians on both Sides of the River, built with so great a Variety of Architecture, that there is not one of them like another: There is also the like Diversity in the laying out of their Gardens; and here they retire during the hot Months; and some allow themselves all the Excesses of a dissolute Liberty that can possibly be imagin'd. From Lizza Fucina, which is at the Mouth of the Brent, we pass for five or six Miles on the Lagunes, or Shallows, to Venice. These Shallows sink of late so much, that the preserving Venice still an Island is like to become as great a Charge to the Venetians, as the keeping out the Sea is to the Dutch; for they use all possible Industry to cleanse the Channels of their Lagunes, and to keep them full of Water: And yet many think that the Water hath fail'd so much in this last Age, that if it continues to abate at the same rate, within an Age or two more Venice may become a Part of the Terra firma. It is certainly the most surprising Sight in the whole World, to see so vast a City situated thus in the Sea, and such a Number of Islands so united together by Bridges, brought to such a regular Figure, the Pilotty supplying the want of Earth to build on, and all so nobly built, which is of all the things that one can see the most amazing. And tho' this Republick is much sunk from what it was, both by the great Losses they have suffer'd in their Wars with the Turks, and by the great Decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vast Plenty of all things in this Place. I will not offer to describe neither the Church or the Palace of St. Mark, which are too well known to need a long Digression to be made for them: The Painting of the Walls, and the Roofs of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vast Value. Here I saw that Story of Pope Alexander the III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The Nobleness of the Stair-cases, the Riches of the Halls, and

and the Beauty of the whole Building, are much prejudiced by the Beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their Marks behind them, as if this were rather a common House of Office, than so noble a *Palace*: And the great Hall, where the whole Body of the Nobility meet in the *Great Council*, hath nothing but the Roof and Walls that answers to such an Assembly; for the Seats are liker the Benches of an Auditory of Scholars, than of so glorious a Body. When the two Sides of this *Palace* are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the gloriousest *Palaces* that the World can shew. The two Sides that are most seen, the one facing the Square of *St. Mark*, and the other the great *Canal*, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble, but the *War of Candy* put a stop to the Building. *St. Mark's Church* hath nothing to recommend it but its great Antiquity, and the vast Riches of the Building: It is dark and low; but the Pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole Roof is also Mosaick, the Outside and Inside are of such excellent Marble, the Frontispiece is adorned with so many Pillars of *Porphyry* and *Jasper*, and above all with the four Horses of *Corinthian Brass*, that *Tiridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Constantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the Gilding is still very bright, that when all this is considered, one doth no where see so much Cost brought together. I did not see the *Gospel* of *St. Mark*, which is one of the valuablest things of the *Treasure*; but they do not now open it to Strangers; yet *Doctor Grandi*, a Famous Physician there, told me, that by a particular Order he was suffered to open it: He told me, it was all writ in *Capital Letters*; but the Characters were so worn out, that tho' he could discern the Ends of some Letters, he could not see enough to help him to distinguish them, or to know whether the *M. S.* was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not say one Word of the *Armenial*; for as I saw it in its worst State, the *War* that is now on Foot having disfurnished a great deal of it,

it hath been often described, and it is known to be the noblest *Magazine*, the best ordered, and of the greatest Variety that is in the whole World; it's true, it is all that this *State* hath; so that if the *Magazines* of other *Princes*, which lye spread up and down in the different Places of their Dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater show. The noblest *Convent* of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called *St. John* and *St. Paul*, the Church and Chapels are vastly rich: There is one of *St. Luke's Madonna's* here, as they pretend; the *Dormitory* is very great; the Room for the *Library* and every thing in it, except the *Books*, is extream fine. But *St. George's* which is a *Convent* of the *Benedictines*, in an *Isle* intirely possessed by them, over against *St. Mark's Square*, is much the richest: The *Church* is well contrived, and well adorned; and not only the whole Building is very Magnificent; but which is more extraordinary at *Venice*, they have a large Garden, and noble Walks in it. The *Redemptore* and the *Salute*, are two noble *Churches*, that are the Effects of Vows that the *Senate* made when they were Afflicted with the *Plague*; the latter is much the finer; it is to the *Virgin*; and the other is only to our *Saviour*: So naturally doth the *Devotion* of that *Church* carry it higher for the *Mother* than the *Son*. It is true, the *Salute* is later than the other, so no Wonder if the *Architecture* and the *Riches* exceed that which is more ancient. The *School* of *St. Roch*, and the *Chapel* and *Hall*, are full of great Pieces of *Tintorets*: A *Cena* of *Paulo Veronese* in the *Refectory* of *St. George*, and the *Picture* of *St. Peter* the *Martyr*, of *Titian's*, are the most celebrated Pieces of *Venice*: *Duke Pesaro's* *Tomb* in the *Friary* is the noblest I ever saw. But of the *Riches* of all the *Convents*, and the *Parish Churches* of *Venice* amazed me, the *Fronts*, especially, many of which are white *Marble*, beautified with several *Statues*; the *Meanness* of the *Library* of *St. Mark* did not less surprize me: There are in the *Antichamber* to it, *Statues* of vast *Value*, and the whole

Roof of the Library is composed of several Pièces of the greatest Malters, put in several Frames; but the Library hath nothing answerable to the Riches of the Case; for the *Greek Manuscripts* are all Modern; I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred Years old. I was indeed told, that the last *Library-keeper* was accused for having conveyed away many of their *Manuscripts*; and that four Years ago being clapt in Prison for this by the *Inquisitors*, he, to prevent further Severities, poisoned himself. I went to the *Convent* of the *Servi*; but I found *Father Paul* was not in such Consideration there, as he is elsewhere: I asked for his Tomb, but they made no Account of him, and seemed not to know where it was; it is true, the Person to whom I was recommended, was not in *Venice*, so perhaps they refined too much in this Matter: I had a great Discourse with some at *Venice*, concerning the *Memorials* out of which *F. Paul* drew his *History*, which are no doubt all preserved with great Care in their *Archives*; and since the Transactions of the *Council of Trent*, as they are of great Importance, so they are become now much controverted by the different Relations that *F. Paul* and *Cardinal Pallavicini* have given the World of that Matter: The only way to put an End to all Disputes in Matter of Fact is to print the *Originals* themselves. A Person of great Credit at *Venice*, promised to me to do his utmost to get that Proposition set on foot, tho' the great Exactness that the Government there hath always affected, as to the Matter of their *Archives*, is held so sacred, that this made him Apprehend they would not give way to any such Search. The Affinity of the Matter brings into my Mind a long Conversation that I had with a Person of great Eminence at *Venice*, that as he was long at *Constantinople*, so he was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*: He told me, he was at *Constantinople* when the Inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek Church* was set on foot, occasioned by the famous Dispute between *Mr. Arnaud* and *Mr. Claude*, he being a zealous

Roman Catholick, was dealt with to assist in that Business; but being a Man of great Honour and Sincerity, he excused himself, and said, he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad Opinion of the *Greeks*; and he told me, *That none of their Priests were more inveterate Enemies to the Church of Rome, than those that were bred up at Rome*; for they, to free themselves of the Prejudices that their Countrymen are apt to conceive against them, because of their Education among the *Latins*, do effect to shew an Opposition to the *Latin Church* beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was such, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own *Church*, so a very little Money, or the Hope of Protection from any of the *Ambassadors* that came from the *West*, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them. He added one thing, that tho' he firmly believed *Transubstantiation* himself, he did not think they believed it, let them say what they pleased themselves: He took his Measures of the Doctrine of their *Church*, rather from what they did, than from what they said; for their *Rites* not being changed now for a great many Ages, were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the Tradition of their Doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw Advantages or Protection set before them; therefore he concluded, that since they did not adore the *Sacrament* after the Consecration, that was an evident Sign that they did not believe the *Corporal Presence*, and was of a Force well able to balance all their Subscriptions: He told me, he was often scandalized to see them open the Bag in which the *Sacrament* was preserved, and shew it with no sort of Respect, no more than when they shewed any *Manuscript*; and he looked on *Adoration* as such a necessary Consequent of *Transubstantiation*, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a *Church* that did not practise the former. To this I will add what an eminent *Catholick* at *Paris* told me: He said, the

Originals of those Attestations were in too exact and too correct a stile, to have been formed in *Greece*: He assured me, they were penn'd at *Paris*, by one that was a Master of the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name these Persons, because they are yet alive, and this might be a Prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was, the famous young Woman that spake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two: She pass'd Doctor of Physick at *Padu'a*, according to the ordinary Forms; but which was beyond all, she was a Person of such extraordinary Virtue and Piety, that she is spoken of as a Saint: She died some Months before I came to *Venice*: She was of the noble Family of the *Cornaro*s, tho' not of the three chief Branches, which are *St. Maurice*, *St. Paul* and *Calle*, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned *Queen of Cyprus*, but the Distinction of her Family was *Piscopia*. Her extraordinary Merit made all People unwilling to remember the Blemish of her Descent of the one Side; for tho' the *Cornaro*s reckon themselves a Size of *Nobility* beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter so long that he had some Children by her, at last for their sakes married the Mother, and payed a considerable Fine to save the Forfeiture of *Nobility*, which his Children must have undergone, by reason of the Meanness of the Mother's Birth. The *Cornaro's* carry it so high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themselves *Nuns*, because they thought their own Name was so noble, that they could not induce themselves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is also one of the ancientest Families, that was extream rich, and she had scarce any Portion at all (for the *Cornaro*s are now very low) some of their Friends came to wish them Joy of so advantagious a Match; but they very coldly reject'd the Complement, and bid the others and wish the *Sagredoes* Joy, since they thought the Advantage was wholly of their Side.

There are of truly Ancient Noble Families of *Venice*, four and twenty yet remaining, and even among these, there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in Rank. Since the first Formation of their *Senate*, they have created many *Senators*. In their Wars with *Genoa* they conferr'd that Honour on thirty Families: Several of their *Generals* have had that Honour given them as a Reward of their Service: They have also offer'd this Honour to some Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice*; and *Henry the III.* when he came thro' *Venice* from *Poland*, to take Possession of the Crown of *France*, went and sat among them, and drew his *Ballot* as a Noble *Venetian*: Many *Popes* have procur'd this Honour for their *Nephews*. Only the *Barberines* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others ask'd it, and so it stuck at this. But during the War of *Candy*, Cardinal *Francois Barberin* gave twelve thousand Crowns a Year towards the War, and the Temper found for making them Noble *Venetians* was, that the *Queen Mother* of *France* moved the *Senate* to grant it. In all the Creations of *Senators* before the last War of *Candy*, they were free; and the Considerations were either great Services or the great Dignity of those on whom they bestow'd this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called *Ducal Families*, and those that were call'd simply *New Families*: The Reason of the former Designation is not rightly understood; but one that knew all that related to that Constitution particularly well, gave me a good Account of it: That which naturally occurs as the Reason of it is, that all those Families that are called *Ducal*, have had the *Dukedom* in their House. But as all the *old Families* have had the same Honour, tho' they carry not that title, so some of the *new Families* have also had it, but yet are not called *Ducal*. Others say, that those Families that have had Branches, who have been made *Dukes* without their being first *Procurators* of
St.

St. Mark, or that have been chosen to that Honour without their pretending to it, are called *Ducals*. But the true Account of this is, that from the Year 1450, to the Year 1620, for an hundred and seventy Years, there was a Combination made among those *new Families* to preserve the *Dukedom* still among them; for the *old Families* carrying it high, and excluding the *new Families* from the chief Honours, nineteen of the *new Families* enter'd into mutual Engagements to exclude the ancient *Nobility*. It is true, they made the *Dukedom* sometimes fall on some of the *new Families* that were not of this Association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the *ancient Families* were shut out, and that it appear'd that they bore the chief Sway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very People, tho' the *Inquisitors* did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it, so that I never met with it in any of their Authors. But this fail'd in the Year 1620, when *Memmio* was chosen Duke, who was descended of one of the ancient *Nobility*, which was so great a Mortification to the *Casa Ducale*, that one of them (*Veniero*) hang'd himself, by the Rage to which that Disgrace drove him; yet his Man came into the Room in time, before he was dead, and cut him down, and he liv'd long after that in a better Mind. Since that time, one of the *Bemboes*, two of the *Cornaroes*, and one of the *Contarinies*, and the present Prince, of the *Justiniani*, the first of that Family that hath had that Honour, have been *Dukes*; who are all of the *ancient Families*; So that this Faction is now so entirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in *Venice* it self) that it was ever amongst them; and thus Time and other *Accidents* bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Industry could produce; for that which all the Endeavours of the *Inquisitors* could not compass was brought about of it self. It is true, the Factions in *Venice*, tho' violent enough in the Persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Posterity, as it was

among

among the *Florentines*; who tho' they value themselves as a Size of Men much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull Race of People, yet shewed how little they understood, with all their Vivacity, to conduct their *State*; since by their domestick Heats they lost their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the Wisdom still to preserve. This Faction of the *Casa Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the Matter fall; for they lost more than they got by it; for the ancient Families, in revenge, set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the other advantageous Employments of the *State*. For the others being only united in that single Point relating to the *Dukedom*, the ancient Families let them carry it; but in all other Competitions they set up always such Competitors against the Pretenders that were of the *Ducal Families*, that were much more esteemed than these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the *Republick*. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in Conclusion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a Wonder to see the Dignity of the *Duke* so much courted; for he is only a Prisoner of State, tied up to such Rules, so severely restrained, and shut up as it were in an Apartment of the *Palace of St. Mark*, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest Families, in particular the *Cornaroes*, decline it. All the Family, if ever so numerous, must retire out of the *Senate* when a *Duke* is chosen out of it, only one that is next to him of Kin sits still, but without a Vote: And the only real Privilege that the *Duke* hath, is, that he can of himself, without communicating with the *Savii*, propose those Matters, either to the *Council of Ten*, to the *Senate*, or to the *Great Council*; whereas all other Propositions must be first offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a sort of *Tribunitian Power*, to reject what they dislike; and tho' they cannot hinder the *Duke* to make a Proposition, yet they can mortifie him when he hath made it; they can hinder it from being voted, and after it is voted, they can suspend the

the Execution of it till it is examined over again. And a Duke, that is of an active Spirit, must resolve to endure many of these Afflictions: And it is certain, that the *Savii* do sometimes affect to shew the Greatness of their Authority, and exercise a sort of Tyranny in the rejecting of Propositions when they intend to humble those that make them; yet the greatest Part of the best Families court this Honour of *Dukedom* extremely. When *Sagredo* was upon the point of being chosen Duke, there was so violent an Out-cry against it over all *Venice*, because of the Disgrace that they thought would come on the Republick, if they had a Prince whose Nose had miscarried in some unfortunate Disorders; the *Senate* complied so far with this Aversion, that the People testified, that tho' the *Inquisitors* took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers; yet they let the Design for *Sagredo* fall: Upon which he was so much Disgusted, that he retired to a House he had in the *Terra firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice*: During which Time of his Retirement, he writ two Books, the one *Memorie Ottomaniche*, which is printed; and he is accounted the best of all their modern Authors. The other was *Memoirs of the Government and History of Venice*, which hath never been printed; and some say, it is too sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their *Archives*. It hath been a sort of Maxim now for some Time, not to chuse a married Man to be Duke; for the Coronation of a *Dutchess* goes high, and hath cost above a hundred thousand *Ducats*. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches *Princes of the Blood*; and tho' the *Coronaries* have done this more than any other, yet others upon the Account of some *Principalities*, that their Ancestors had in the *Islands* of the *Archipelago*, have also affected those vain Titles: But the *Inquisitors* have long ago obliged them to lay aside all those high Titles; and such of them as boast too much of their Blood, find the Dislike which that brings on them very sensibly.

sensibly; for whensoever they pretend to any great
 Employments, they find themselves always excluded.
 When an Election of *Ambassadors* was proposed, or of
 any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in
 those Terms, that the *Council* must chuse one of its
Principal Members for such an Employment; but be-
 cause this lookt-like a Term of Distinction among the
Nobility, they changed it five and twenty Years ago;
 and instead of *Principal*, they use now the Term *Hon-
 ourable*, which comprehends the whole Body of their
Nobility, without any Distinction. It is at *Venice* in
 the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of
 the Body hath a great Title, and particular Honours
 done him: Whereas in the mean while this is a meor
 Pageantry, and under these big Words there is lodged
 only a light Shadow of Authority; for their *Bishop* has
 the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the *Duke*
 is called their *Prince*, and his *Serenity*, and hath his
 Name stamp'd upon their Coin; so the *Patriarch* with
 all this high Title, hath really no Authority; for not
 only *St. Mark's Church* is entirely exempted from his
 Jurisdiction, and is immediately subject to the *Duke*,
 but his Authority is in all other things so subject to
 the *Senate*, and so regulated by them, that he hath no
 more Power than they are pleased to allow him: So
 that the *Senate* is as really the Supream Governor over
 all Persons, and in all Causes, as the *Kings of England*
 have pretended to be in their own *Dominions* since the
Reformation: But besides all this, the *Clergy of Venice*
 have a very extraordinary sort of Exemption, and are
 sort of a Body like a *Presbytery* independent of the
Bishop: The *Curates* are chosen by the Inhabitants of
 every Parish, and this makes that no noble *Venetian* is
 suffered to pretend to any *Curacy*; for they think it
 below that Dignity, to suffer one of their Body to en-
 gage in a Competition with one of a lower Order, and
 to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told the
 manner of those Elections was the most scandalous
 thing possible; for the several Candidates appear on
 the Day of Election, and set out their own Merits,

and defame the other Pretenders in the foulest Language, and in the most scurrilous Manner imaginable: The Secrets of all their Lives are publish'd in most reproachful Terms, and nothing is so abject and ridiculous, that is not put in Practice on those Occasions. There is a sort of an Association among the *Curates* for judging of their common Concerns, and some of the *Laity* of several Parishes assist in those Courts, so that here is a real *Presbytery*. The great Libertinage, that is so undecently practis'd by most sorts of People at *Venice*, extends it self to the *Clergy* to such a Degree, that tho' Ignorance and Vice seem the only indelible Characters that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet those appear here in a much more conspicuous manner than elsewhere; and upon those popular Elections all comes out. The *Nuns* of *Venice* have been under much Scandal for a great while: There are some *Nunneries* that are as famous for their Strictness and Exactness to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take; chiefly those of St. *Zachary* and St. *Laurence*, where none but Noble *Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not so much as pretended, that they have retired for Devotion; but it is owned to be done meerly, that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not veiled, their Neck and Breast is bare, and they receive much Company, but that which I saw was in a publick Room, in which there were many *Grills* for several Parlors, so that the Conversation is very confused; for there being a different Company at every *Grill*, and the *Italians* speaking generally very loud, the Noise of many loud Talkers is very disagreeable. The *Nuns* Talk much and very ungracefully, and allow themselves a Liberty in rallying that other Places could not bear. About four Years ago, the *Patriarch* intended to bring in a Reform into those Houses; but the *Nuns* of St. *Laurence*, with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble *Venetians*, who had chosen that way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations.

tions; yet he came and would shut up their House, so that they went to set Fire to it; upon which the Senate, interposed, and ordered the *Patriarch* to desist. There is no *Christian State* in the World, that hath express'd a Jealousy of Church-mens getting into the Publick Councils so much as the *Venetians*; for as a Noble *Venetian*, that goes into Orders, loses thereby his right of going to vote in the great Council, so when any of them are promoted to be *Cardinals*, the whole Kindred and Family must (during their Lives) withdraw from the great Council, and are also incapable of all Employments: And by a Clause which they added when they received the Inquisition, which seemed of so great Consequence, they have made it to become a Court absolutely subject to them; for it being provided that the *Inquisitors* should do nothing but in the Presence of such as should be deputed by the Senate to be the Witnesses of their Proceedings, those Deputies either will not come but when they think fit, or will not stay longer than they are pleased with their Proceedings, so that either their Absence, or their Withdrawing, dissolves the Court; for a Citation cannot be made, a Witness cannot be examined, nor the least point of Form carried on, if the Deputies of the Senate are not present: And thus it is, that tho' there is a Court of Inquisition at Venice, yet there is scarce any Person brought into Trouble by it; and there are many of the *Protestant Religion* that live there without any Trouble: And tho' there is a Congregation of them there, that hath their Exercises of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no Trouble. It is true the *Hosties* not being carried about in Procession, but secretly by the Priest to the Sick, makes at this uneasy Discrimination of *Protestant* and *Papist*, doth not offer it self here, as in other Places; the Straitness of the Streets, and the Channels thro' which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in Venice as it is elsewhere, and from Venice this Rule is carried over their whole Territory, tho' the like Reason doth not hold in the *Terra firma*,

forma. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the Matters of *Religion* to a scandal, and they are as unconcern'd in them as they are Strangers to them; so that all that vast Pomp in their Ceremonies, and Wealth in their *Churches*, is affected rather as a Point of Magnificence, or a Matter of Emulation among Families, than that *Superstition* hath here such a Power over the Spirits of the People, as it hath elsewhere: For the *Atheism* that is received by many here, is the dullest and coarsest thing that can be imagined. The young *Nobility* are so generally corrupted in their Morals, and so given up to a most supine Ignorance of all sort of Knowledge, that a Man cannot easily imagine to what a Height this is grown; and for *Military Courage*, there is scarce so much as the Ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater Part of them. It seem'd to me a strange thing, to see the *Broglio* so full of graceful young *Senators*, and *Nobles*, when there was so glorious a *War* on foot with the *Turks*; but instead of being heated in Point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they rather think it an extravagant Piece of Folly for them to go and hazard it, when a little Money can hire Strangers, that do it on such easie Terms; and thus their Arms are in the Hands of Strangers, while they stay at Home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and dissolving their Spirits among their *Courtisans*. And the Reputation of their Service is of late Years so much sunk, that it is very strange to see so many come to a Service so decry'd, where there is so little care had of the *Soldiers*, and so little regard had to the *Officers*, the *Ar-rears* are so slowly paid, and the Rewards are so scantily distributed, that if they do not change their Maxims, they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted with warlike Matters, so their *Nobility* have no sort of Ambition that way, and Strangers are extreamly disgusted. It is chiefly to the Conjunction of Affairs that they owe their Safety, for the Feebleness of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke

Duke of Mantua, preserves them from the Apprehension of an Invasion; and the Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects, save them from the Fears of a Revolt; but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great Occasion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim that hath been taken up for some considerable Time, that for the Preservation of their Families, it is fit that only one of a Family should marry, to which I will not add that it is generally believed, that the Wife is in common to the whole Family. By this means the younger Brothers that have Appointments for Life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not stirred up by any Ambition to signalize themselves or to make Families, and so they give way to all the Laziness of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it; Whereas the best Services done in other States, flows from the Necessities as well as the Aspirings of younger Brothers or their Families, whose Blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and Necessities push them on, to acquire first a Reputation, and then a Fortune. But all this is a Mystery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that to lay those to sleep, they encourage them in all those Things that may blunt and depress their Minds, and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the Licentiousness of unlimited Disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that tho' *Venice* is the only Place in the whole World where Pleasure is most studied, and where the Youth have both the greatest Wealth, and the most Leisure to pursue it; yet it is the only Place that I ever saw where true and innocent Pleasure is the least understood, in which I will make a little Digression that perhaps will not be unpleasant. As for the Pleasures of Friendship, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them; for the horrible

horrible Distrust, in which they live, of one another, makes, that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*; but most of all in *Venice*; And tho' we have been told of several Stories of celebrated Friendships there, yet these are now very rare. As for their Wives they are bred to so much Ignorance, and they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull Superstition, on Holy Days in which they stay in the Churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little Liberty they have, of going abroad on those Days, as Children do their Hours of Play: They are not imployed in their domestick Affairs, and generally they understand no sort of Work, so that I was told, that they were the insipidest Creatures imaginable. They are perhaps as vicious as in other Places, but it is among them down right Lewdness; for they are not drawn into it by the Intanglements of *Amour*, that inveigle and lead many Persons much farther then they imagined or intended at first; but in them, the first Step, without any Preamble or Preparative, is downright Beastliness. And an *Italian* that knew the World well, said upon this Matter a very lively Thing to me, he said, *Their Jealousie made them restrain their Daughters and their Wives so much, that they could have none of those Domestick Entertainments of Wit, Conversation and Friendship, that the French or English have at home.* It is true, those he said hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty; but the *Italians*, by their excessive Caution, made, that they had none of the true Delights of a married State; and notwithstanding all their uneasie Jealousie, they were still in Danger of a contraband Nobility; therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain Satisfaction, than to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid Companion, instead of a lively Friend, tho' she might perhaps have some ill Moments. As for their Houses, they have nothing convenient at *Venice*; for the *Architecture* is almost all

the same, one Stair-Cafe, a Hall that runs along the Body of the Houses and Chambers on both Hands; but there are no Apartments, no Closets or Back-Stairs; so that in Houses that are of an excessive Wealth, they have yet no sort of Convenience: Their Bedsteads are of Iron, because of the Vermin that their Moisture produces, the Bottoms are of Boards, upon which they lay so many Quilts, that it is a huge Step to get up to them; their great Chairs are all upright, without a Slope in the Back, hard in the Bottom, and the Wood of the Arms is not covered. They mix their Water with their Wine in their Hogsheds, so that for above half the Year, the Wine is either dead or sour: They do not leaven their Bread, so that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, so that the Crum is as Dough, when the Crust is as hard as Stone: In all Inns they boil the Meat first before it is roasted, and thus, as indeed they make it tender, so it is quite tasteless and insipid. And as for their Land carriage, all *Lombardy* over, it is extream inconvenient; for their Coaches are fastned to the Pearch, which makes them as uneasie as a Cart. It is true, they begin to have at *Rome* and *Naples*, Coaches that are fastned to a Sort of double Pearch, that runs along the Bottom of the Coach of both Sides, which are so thin, that they ply to the Motion of the Coach, and are extream easie, but those are not known in *Lombardy*: And besides this, their *Calashes* are open, so that one exposed to the Sun and Dust in *Summer* and to the Weather in *Winter*: But tho' they are covered as ours are, on the other Side of the *Apennins*, yet I saw none that were covered in *Lombardy*. And thus by an Enumeration of many of the innocent Pleasures, and Conveniences of Life, it appears, that the *Venetians* pursue so violently forbidden Pleasures, that they know not how to find out that which is allowable. Their constant Practices in the *Broglio* is their chief Business, where those that are necessitous are suing for Employments of Advantage,

tage, and those that are full of Wealth, take a sort of Pleasure in crossing their Pretensions, and imbroiling Matters. The Walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them; and they change the Side of the Square of St. Mark as the Sun and the Weather direct them. Perhaps a Derivation that Mr. *Pattin* gave me of the *Broglia*, from the Greek *Peribolain*, a little corrupted, is not forced, and since they make all their Parties, and manage all their Intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that Broils, Brovillons and Imbroilments are all deriv'd from the Agitations that are managed in those Walks.

As for the last created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen at the Beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vast Expence in which the Length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Isle, rather than have wasted their Treasure, and debas'd their Nobility. This last was extream sensible to them; for as the Dignity of the Rank they hold is so much the more eminent as it is restrained to a small Number, so all the best Employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting such a Number into it, as must rise out of seventy eight Families, was in effect the sharing their Inheritance among so many adopted Brothers. This had been less infamous if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of those States they have subdued in the *Terra firma*; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Ancestors not happening to be of that Council that assumed the Government about four hundred Years ago, they have not been raised to that Honour, so there had been no Infamy in creating some of them to be of the Nobility. It had been brought under Consultation long ago, upon the Reduction of those States in the *Terra firma*, whether it was not advisable,

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according to the Maxims of the ancient *Romans* to communicate that Dignity to some of their chief Families, as being the surest way to give some Contentment to those States, it being also a real as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in those Cities were admitted to a Share in all the Honours of the Republick. It is true some of the Nobility of those States thought they had Honour enough by their Birth, and so *Zambara* of *Brescia*, refused to accept an Honour from those that had robbed his Country of its Liberty; yet his Posterity are now of another Mind, for they came and bought, in this last Sale of Honour, that which was freely offered to their Ancestor, and was rejected by him. When the *Senate* found it self extreamly pressed for Money during the War, it was at first proposed, that some Families, to the Number of five, might be *Enobled*; They offering it for sixty thousand *Ducats* if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were *Strangers*. There was but one Person that opposed this in the *Senate*, so being passed there, it was presented to the *Great Council*; and there it was like to have passed without any Difficulty; but one Person opposed it with so much Vigour, that tho' the *Duke* desired him to give over his Opposition, since the Necessities of the War required a great Supply, yet he persisted still; and tho' one of the *Savii* set forth with Tears the Extremities to which the *State* was reduced, he still insisted, and fell upon one Conceit that turned the whole *Council*: He said, they were not sure if five Persons could be found, that would purchase that Honour at such a Rate, and then it would be a great Disgrace, to expose the offer of *Nobility* first to Sale, and then to the Affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold; and by this Means he put by the Resolution for that time. But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and was of a more extended Consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the *Great Council*, setting forth his Me-

rits towards the *Republick*, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand *Ducats* toward the Service of the *State*: This was understood to be the asking to be made *Noble* at that Price. *Delfino* said, he thought every Man might be well judged worthy to offer such an Assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that Supply, might expect a suitable Acknowledgment from the *Senate*, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the Publick: And this would in some sort maintain that Degree, which would be too much debased, if it were thus bought and sold. But it seems the Purchasers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to the Gratitude of the *Council*, so the Petition was granted in plain Terms: And the *Nobility* so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was *Enobled*, but to his Brothers and the whole Family to such a Degree. After *Labia*, a great many more came with the like Petitions; and it was not unpleasant to see in what Terms *Merchants* that came to buy this Honour set forth their Merits, which were, that they had taken Care to furnish the *Republick* with such Things as were necessary for its Preservation. There was a Sort of a *Triumvirate* formed, of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the Brokers, and found out the Merchants: And at last brought down the Price from a hundred thousand, to sixty thousand *Ducats*; and no other Qualifications were required, if they had Money enough: For when *Correge* said to the *Duke*, that he was afraid to ask that Honour for want of Merit, the *Duke* asked him, if he had a hundred thousand *Ducats*? And when the other answered, the Sum was ready; the *Duke* told him, that was a great Merit. At last seventy eight purchas'd this Honour to the great regret of *Labia*; who said that if he had imagined that so many would have followed him in that Demand, he would have bid so high for it, that it should have been out of their

their Power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchasers were ancient and noble Families; but many others were not only Merchants; but were of the lowest Sort of them, who, as they had enriched themselves by Trade, did then impoverish themselves by the Acquisition of an Honour, that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher Way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any Advantage to ballance that Loss; for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the ancient Nobility; tho' this is done with that Discretion, that the old Families do not declare always against the New, for that would throw the New into a Faction against them, which might be a great Prejudice to them, for the New are much more numerous than the Old. Another great Prejudice that the *Republic* feels by this great Promotion, is, that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State and the Chancellor, that is the Head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the Head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief Honour of the State: There is not now a sufficient Number of capable Citizens left for serving the State in those Employments; but this Defect will be redrest with the Help of a little Time. But if this Increase of the Nobility, hath lessened the Dignity of the ancient Families, there is a Regulation made in this Age that still preserves a considerable Distinction of Authority in their Hands. Crimes against the States, when committed by any of the Nobility, were always judged by the Inquisitors and the Council of Ten; but all other Crimes were judged by the Council of Forty. But in the Year, 1624. one of the Nobles was accused of *Pecalat* committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore* in the Pleading as he set forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber: Yet tho' his Crimes were manifest,

there being but six and twenty Judges present, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him: This gave great Offence, for tho' he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, so that his Fame could not be restored; for the Depositions of the Witnesses, and the *Avogadore* (or the Attorney General's) Charge was heard by the People; so it was proposed to make a Difference between the Nobility and the other Subjects; and since all Trials before the Forty were publick, and the Trials before the Ten were in secret, it seemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the Ten: Some foresaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raise the Dignity of the ancient Families, of whom the Council of Ten is always composed, too high; therefore they opposed it upon this Ground, that since the Council of Forty sent out many Orders to the Governors, it would very much lessen their Authority, if they were not to be the Judges of those, who were obliged to receive their Orders; but to qualifie this Opposition, a Proviso was made, that reserved to the Council of Forty a Power to judge of the Obedience that was given to their Orders; but all other Accusations of the Nobility were remitted to the Council of Ten: And the Body of the Nobility were so pleased with this Distinction, that was put between them and the other Subjects, that they did not see that this did really inflave them so much the more, and brought them under more Danger; since those who judge in secret have a freer Scope to their Passions, than those whose Proceedings are publick, which is often a very effectual Restraint upon the Judges themselves. But the Council of Ten being generally in the Hands of the great Families, whereas those of all sorts are the Council of Forty, which was the chief *Judiciary* of the State, and is much ancients than that of Ten, it had been much more wisely done of them to have been still judged by the Forty. And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a

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Difference made in the way of judging the Nobility and the other Subjects, it had been more for their Security, to have brought their Trials to this; that whereas the Forty judge all other Offenders with *Open Doors*, the Nobility should be judged, the *Doors being shut*, which is a Thing they very much desire now, but without any Hope of ever obtaining it: For this Power of judging the Nobility is now considered as the Right of the Ten; and if any Man would go about to change it, the *Inquisitors* would be perhaps very quick with him as a Mover of Sedition, and be, in that Case, both Judge and Party: Yet the *Inquisitors*, being apprehensive of the Distast, that this might breed in the Body of the Nobility, have made a Sort of Regulation, tho' it doth not amount to much: Which is, that the Nobility shall be judged before the Council of Ten for atrocious Cases, such as Matters of *State*, the Robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other Matters, they are to be judged by the Forty: Yet the Council of Ten draws all Cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

But this leads me to say a little to you of that Part of this *Constitution*, which is so much censured by *Strangers*; but it is really both the greatest Glory, and the chief Security of this *Republick*; which is, *the unlimited Power of the Inquisitors*, that extends not only to the Chief of the *Nobility*, but to the *Duke* himself, who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him severe Reprimands, but search his Papers, make his Process, and in Conclusion, put him to death, without being bound to give an Account of their Proceedings, except to the Council of Ten. This is the Dread, not only of all the *Subjects*, but of the whole *Nobility*, and of all that bear Office in the *Republick*, and makes the greatest among them tremble; and so obligeth them to an exact Conduct. But tho' it is not to be denied that upon some Occasions they may have been a little too sudden, particularly in the known Story of

of *Foscarin*, yet such unjustifiable Severities have occurred so seldom, that as the Wisdom of this Body in making and preserving such an Institution cannot be enough admired, so the dextrous Conduct of those who manage this vast Trust, so as not to force the Body to take it out of their Hands, is likewise highly to be wondered at. In short the Insolence, the Factions, the Revenges, the Necessities and Ambition, that must needs possess a great many Members of so vast a Body as is the Nobility of *Venice*, must have thrown them often into many fatal Convulsions, if it were not for the Dread in which they all stand of this Court, which hath so many Spies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondaliers*, who cannot fail to discover all the secret Commerce of *Venice*; besides the secret Advices that are thrown in at so many of those Lyons Mouths that are in several Places of *St. Mark's Palace*, within which there are Boxes that are under the Keys of the *Inquisitors*, so that it is scarce possible for a Man to be long in any Design against the State, and not to be discovered by them. And when they find any in a Fault, they are so inexorable, and so quick as well as severe in the Justice, that the very Fear of this is so effectual a Restraint, that perhaps the long Preservation of *Venice*, and of its Liberty, is owing to this single Piece of their *Constitution*: And the *Inquisitors* are Persons generally so distinguished for their Merit, who must be all of different Families, and their Authority lasts so short a while, that the Advantages of this vast Authority that is lodged with them are constant and visible; whereas the unhappy Instances of their being imposed on, and carrying their Suspicions too far, are so few, that whenever the Nobility grows weary of this Yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Prosperity of *Venice* at an End. It was terribly attack'd not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Jerom Cornaro* was put to death for his Correspondence with *Spain*: He was not near of Kin to the great Family

of that Name, yet the Family thought their Honour was so much touch'd when one of its remotest Branches was condemn'd of Treason, that they offered a hundred thousand Crowns to have saved him, and by consequence to have preserved the Family from that Infamy; but tho' this was not accepted, for he suffered as he well deserved, yet it was so visible that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their Prejudice. But upon the first Occasion that offer'd it self after that, to quarrel with the Proceedings of the *Inquisitors*, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the Matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority; but the Great Council was wiser than to touch so sacred a Part of the Government, so they retain their Power very intire; but they manage it with all possible Caution. A *Foreigner* that hath been many Years in their Service, told me, that the Stories with which *Strangers* were frighted at the Arbitrary Power that was rested in those *Inquisitors*, were slight Things, in comparison of the Advantages that they found from it; and after eleven Years spent in their Service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a Reprimand from them. And if the *Nobility*, that have any Commerce with *Strangers*, confess it sincerely to the *Inquisitors*, they are in no Danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main Circumstances of it, their Process will be soon dispatched. These are the most remarkable Things that I could pick up, during my stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to say any Thing relating to their several *Councils*, *Officers* and *Judicatories*, or to the other Parts of their Government, which are to be found in all Books; and the Forms by which they give their *Votes* by *Ballot* are so well known, that it were an abusing of your Time, to enlarge my self concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed, concerning the Particulars of the Sale of *Nobility* that is now on Foot, since this last War with the *Turks*, which hath made them will-

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ling to take up once again this easie Way of raising Money. Nor could I give Credit to that of which a Person of great Eminence there assured me, that there was a *Poysoner General* in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was imployed by the *Inquisitors* to dispatch those, against whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a Noise: This I could not believe, tho' my Author protested, that the Brother of one that was solicited to accept of the Imployment discovered it to him. There is no Place in the World where *Strangers* live with more Freedom; and I was amazed to see so little Exactness among the Searchers of the Custom-House; for tho' we had a Mullets-load of Trunks, and Portmantles, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the best and noblest Entertainment that *Venice* afforded while I was there, was the Company of M. de la Haye, the *French Ambassador*, who as he hath spent his whole Life in publick *Embassies*, so he hath acquired so great a Knowledge of the World, with so true a Judgment, and so obliging a Civility, that he may well pass for a Pattern; and it is no Wonder to see him still ingaged in a constant Succession of publick Employments: And his Lady is so wonderful a Person, that I pay them both but a very small Part of what I owe them in this Acknowledgment, which I judge my self bound to make of their extraordinary Civilities to me; and indeed, without the Advantage of such a Rendezvous as I had there, a Fortnights stay at *Venice* had been a very tedious Matter. From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*: From thence to *Rovigo*, which is but a small Town, and so to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of the *Republick*, from the *Ferrarese*, which is now the *Pope's Country*; and here one sees what Difference a good and a bad Government makes in a Country; for tho' the Soil is the same on both Sides of the River, and the *Ferrarese* was once one of the beautifullest Spots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara* was one of its

its best Towns, while they had Princes of their own, who for a Course of some Ages were Princes of such eminent Virtues, and of so heroical a Nobleness, that they were really the Fathers of their Country, nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The Soil is abandoned, and uncultivated, nor were there Hands enough, so much as to mow their Grass; which we saw withering in their Meadows, to our no small Wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a Soil forsaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we passed thro' that vast Town, which, by its Extent, shews what it was about an Age ago, and is now so much deserted that there are whole Sides of Streets without Inhabitants; and the Poverty of the Place appears signally in the Churches, which are mean, and poorly adorned; for the Superstition of *Italy* is so ravenous, and makes such a Progress in this Age, that one may justly take the Measures of the Wealth of any Place from the Churches. The Superstition or Vanity of this Age, is so much beyond that of the past, tho' the contrary to this is commonly believed, that all the vast Buildings of great Churches or rich Convents, and the surprizing Wealth that appears in them on Festival Days, are the Donatives of the present Age; so that it is a vulgar Error, that some have taken up, who fancy that Superstition is at a Stand, if not in a Decay, unless it be acknowledged that the Craft of the Priests hath opened to them a new Method to support their Riches, when the old ones of Purgatory and Indulgences were become less effectual in an Age of more Knowledge, and better enlightened, and that is, to ingage Men to an Emulation and a Vaninty in enriching their Churches, as much as other *Italians* have in the enriching their Palaces; so that as they have a Pleasure, as well as a Vanity, in seeing so much dead Wealth in their Houses, they have translated the same Humour to their Churches: And the Vanity of the present Age that believes little or nothing of these Contrivances

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of Purgatory, or the like, produceth the same if not greater Effects in the building and enriching their Churches, and so carries it in Expence and Prodigality from the Superstition of the former Ages that believed every Thing. But to return to *Ferrara*: I could not but ask all I saw how it came that so rich a Soil was so strangely abandoned. Some said the Air was become so unhealthy, that those who stay in it were very short-liv'd; but it is well known that fourscore Years ago it was well peopled; and the ill Air is occasioned by the want of Inhabitants; for there being not People to drain the Ground and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes that there is a great deal of Water that lies on the Ground and rots, which infects the Air in the same Manner as is observed in that vast and rich, but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome*; so that the ill Air is the Effect, rather than the Cause of the Dispeopling of the *Pope's* Dominions. The true Cause is, the Severity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiscations, by which the Nephews of several *Popes*, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, so they have driven away many more: And this appears more visibly by the different State, as well as the Constitution of *Bologna*, which is full of People that abound in Wealth; and as the Soil is extream rich, so it is cultivated with all due Care; for *Bologna* delivered it self to the *Popedom* upon Capitulation, by which there are many Privileges reserved to it. Crimes there are only punished in the Persons of those who commit them; but there are no Confiscations of Estates; and tho' the Authority, in criminal Matters, belongs to the *Pope*, and is managed by a *Legate* and his Officers, yet the civil Government, the Magistracy, and the Power of Judicature in civil Matters, is intirely in the Hands of the *State*. And by this Regulation it is, that as the Riches of *Bologna* amazes a Stranger, it neither being on a navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor be-

ing the Center of a Sovereignty, where a Court is kept, so the Taxes that the *Popes* fetch from thence are so considerable, that he draws much more from this Place of Liberty, than from those where his Authority is unlimited and absolute; but they are, by those means, almost quite abandoned: For the Greatness of a *Prince* or *State* rising from the Numbers of the *Subjects*, those Maxims that retain the *Subjects*, and that draw *Strangers* to come among them, are certainly the truest Maxims for advancing the Greatness of the Master. And I could not but with much Scorn observe the Folly of some *Frenchmen* who made use of this Argument to shew the Greatness of their Nation, that one found many *Frenchmen* in all Places to which one could come, whereas there were no *English*, nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*; but this is just contrary to the right Consequence that ought to be drawn from this Observation. It is certain, that few leave their Country, and go to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so much Uneasiness at home, that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred; so that a *mild Government* drives out no Swarms: Whereas it is the sure Mark of a *severe Government* that weakens it self, when many of the *Subjects* find it so hard to subsist at home, that they are forced to seek that abroad which they would much rather do in their own Country, if Impositions and other Severities did not force them to change their Habitations.

But to return to the Wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and all round it, tho' its Situation is not very favourable, for it lies at the Foot of the *Apenins*, on the North-side, and is extream cold in *Winter*: The Houses are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, so that one walks all the Town over, cover'd under *Piazza's*; but the Walks here are both higher and larger than any where else: There are many noble Palaces all over the Town, and the Churches and Convents are incredibly rich; Within the Town the richest

are the *Dominicans*, which is the chief House of the Order, where their Founder's Body is laid in one of the best Chapels of *Italy*; and next to them are the *Franciscans*, the *Servites*, the *Jesuits* and the *Canons Regular* of *St. Salvator*. In this last there is a Scrawl of the *Hebrew Bible*, which tho' it is not the tenth Part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible; and they were made believe by some *Jew*, that hath no doubt sold it at a high Rate, that it was written by *Ezrah's* own Hand; and this hath pass'd long for current; but the Manuscript is only a fine Copy like those that the *Jews* use in their *Synagogues*, that may be perhaps three or four hundred Years old. That Part of it on which I cast my Eye was the Book of *Esther*, so by the Bulk of the Scrawl, I judg'd it to be the Collection of those small Books of the *Old Testament* that the *Jews* set after the *Law*; but those of the House fancy they have a great Treasure in it, and perhaps such *Jews* as have seen it are willing to laugh at their Ignorance, and suffer them to go on in their Error. The chief Church in the Town is *St. Petrone's*, and there one sees the curious and exact Meridional-line, which that rare *Astronomer*, *Cassini*, laid along a great Part of the Pavement in a Brass Circle: It marks the true Point of Mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the best Performances that perhaps the World ever saw. In the great Square before the Church, on the one Side of which is the *Legate's* Palace, among other Statues one surpriz'd me much, it was *Pope Joan's*, which is so named by the People of the Town; it is true, the learned Men say, it is the Statue of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a youthly womanish Face, But as I look'd at this Statue very attentively, thro' a little Prospect that I carried with me, it appear'd plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. which is in *St. Mary Maggiore* at *Rome*; for the Statue of that *Pope*, tho' it hath no Beard, yet hath an Age in it, that is very much different from the Statue at

Bologna.

Bologna. I do not build any thing on this *Statue*; for I do not believe that Story at all; and I my self saw in *England* a Manuscript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this Matter, which did not seem to be written long after the Author's Time, in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the Margin by another Hand. On the Hill above *Bologna* stands the Monastery of *St. Michael*, in *Bosco*, which hath a most charming Situation and Prospect, and is one of the best Monasteries in *Italy*; it hath many Courts, and one that is cloister'd, and is octangular; which is so nobly painted in *Fresco*, that it is pity to see such Work exposed to the Air: All was retouch'd by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again much decay'd: The Dormitory is very magnificent; the Chapel is little, but very fine; and the Stalls are richly carv'd. On the other Side of *Bologna* there is a *Madona* of *St. Luke's*; and because many go thither in great Devotion, there is a *Portico* building, which is already carry'd on almost half way: It is wall'd to the North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is above twelve Foot broad, and fifteen Foot high; It is carried on very vigorously; for in eight or ten Years the Half is built, so that in a little Time the whole will very probably be finish'd; and this may prove the Beginning of many such like *Porticoes* in *Italy*; for things of this kind want only a Beginning, and when they are once set on foot, they do quickly spread themselves in a Country that is so entirely subdued by *Superstition* and the Artifices of their *Priests*. In *Bologna* they reckon there are seventy thousand Persons. I saw not one of the chief Glories of this Place; for the famous *Malphigius* was out of the Town while I was there. I saw a Play there, but the Poesie was so bad, the Farces so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amaz'd to see the Company express so great a Satisfaction in that which would have been hiss'd off the Stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then we engage into

into that Range of Hills that carry the Name of *Apennins*, tho' that is strictly given only to one that is the highest. All the Way to *Florence* this Track of Hills continues, tho' there are several Bottoms, and some considerable little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and down-hill, and *Florence* it self is just at the Bottom of the last Hill. The High-ways all along these Hills are kept in so very good Case, that in few of the best inhabited Countries doth one find the High-ways so well maintain'd as in those forsaken Mountains; but this is so great a Passage, that all that are concern'd in it find their Account in the Expence they lay out upon it. On the last of these Hills, tho' in a little Bottom, in the midst of a Hill, stands *Pratolino* one of the great *Duke's Palaces*, where the Retreat in Summer must be very agreeable; for the Air of those Mountains are extream thin and pure. The *Gardens* in *Italy* are made at a great Cost; the *Statues* and *Fountains* are very rich and noble; the Grounds are well laid out; and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no Gravel, to give them those firm and beautiful Walks that we have in *England*, so the constant Greenness of the Box doth so much please them, that they, preferring the Sight to the Smell, have their *Gardens* so high sented by Plots made with them, that there is no Pleasure to walk in them; they also lay their Walks so between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I saw first in a *Garden* at *Vincenza* that which I found afterwards in many *Gardens* in *Italy*, which was extream convenient, there went a Course of Water round about the Walls; about a Foot from the Ground is a Channel of Stone that went along the Side of the Wall; and in this there were Holes so made, that a Pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them conveyed the Water to such Plants as in a dry Season needed watering; and a Cock set the Water running in this Course, so that without the Trouble of carrying Water, one Person could easily manage the watering of a great *Garden*. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great *Palaces*, rich *Churches* and state-

ly Convents. The Streets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman Highways*, with great Stone, bigger than our common Pavement-Stone, and much thicker, which are so hollowed, in their Joinings to one another that Horses find fastening enough to their Feet: There are many *Statues* and *Fountains* in the Streets, so that in every Corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a Description of the great *Duke's Palace* and Gardens, or of the old *Palace*, and the *Gallery* that joins to it, and of the vast Collection of *Pictures*, *Statues*, *Cabinets*; and other Curiosities that must needs amaze every one that sees them: The Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things, that they would require a very copious Description, if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little Purpose to copy what others have said: And these things are so exactly seen by every Traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular of these Subjects than you will find in the common *Itineraries* of all Travellers. The great *Dome* is a magnificent Building; but the Frontispiece to the Gate is not yet made. The *Cupulo* is after *St. Peter's*, the greatest and highest that I saw in *Italy*, it is three hundred Foot high, and of a vast Compass; and the whole *Architecture* of this Fabrick is very singular as well as regular: Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty lessen'd it very much in my Thoughts; for the Walls that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble, laid in different Figures and Orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that air of Nobleness which in my Opinion becomes so glorious a Fabrick. The *Baptistry* that stands before it, was a noble *Heathen Temple*; its *Gates* of Brass are the best of that sort that are in the World: There are so many *Histories* so well represented in *Bas Reliefs* in them, with so much Exactness, the Work is so natural, and yet so fine, that a curious Man could find Entertainment for many Days, if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical Exactness. The

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Annunciata, *St. Mark's*, *St. Croce*, and *St. Maria Novella*, are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches; but the Church and Chapel of *St. Laurence* exceeds them all, as much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the Outside, which is quite dead (if I may so speak) but on Design to give it a rich Outside of Marble. In a Chapel within this Church, the Bodies of the great Dukes lye deposited till the famous Chapel is finished. But I was much scandaliz'd to see Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in Churches. I will not offer at a Description of the glorious Chapel, which as it is, without doubt, the richest Piece of Building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that tho' there are always many at Work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the Number of the Hands that are employed in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the *Virgin's*, made by *Michael Angelo*, which represents her Grief at the Passion of her Blessed Son, that hath the most Life in it of all the Statues I ever saw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent, took up more of my Time than all the other Curiosities of *Florence*; for here is a Collection of many Manuscripts, most of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by *Pope Clement the VII.* and given to his Country: There are very few printed Books mixed with them, and those Books that are there are so rare, that they are almost as curious as Manuscripts. I saw some of *Virgil's Poems* in old Capitals. There is a Manuscript, in which some Parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one Place, one in a different Hand had writ, that he had compared those Manuscripts; and he adds a Date to this in *Olibrius's Time*, which is about twelve hundred Years ago. I found some Diphthongs in it cast into one Letter, which surprized me; for I thought that Way of writing them had not been so ancient; but that which pleased me most was, that the Library-keeper assured me, that one had lately found the famous Epistle of *St. Chrysostome to Cesar*

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rius in Greek, in the End of a Volume full of other things, and not among the *Manuscripts* of that *Father's Books*; of which they have a great many. He thought he remember'd well the Place where the Book stood, so we turned over all the Books that stood near it, but I found it not: He promised to look it out for me, if I came back that Way; but I changing my Design, and going back another Way, could not see the Bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi*, who is the *Great Duke's Library-keeper*, and is a Person of most wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is learned beyond Imagination, assured me, that this could be no other than a Mistake of the *Library-keepers*; he said, such a Discovery could not have been made, without making so much Noise, that he must have heard of it. He added, there was not one Man in *Florence*, that either understood Greek or that examined *Manuscripts*; so that he assured me, I could not build on what an ignorant *Library-keeper* had told me: So I set down this Matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much sunk from what it was; for they do not reckon, that there are above fifty thousand Souls in it: and the other *States*, that were once great *Republicks*, such as *Siena* and *Pisa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now shrunk almost into nothing: It is certain, that all three together are now not so numerous as any one of them was two hundred Years ago. *Leghorn* is full of People, and all round *Florence* there are a great many *Villages*, but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a *Country* that hath been the Scene of so much Action, and so many *Wars*, now so forsaken and so poor, and that in many Places the Soil is quite neglected for want of Hands to cultivate it; and in other Places, where there are more People, they look so poor, and their Houses are such miserable Ruins, that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much Poverty in so rich a *Country*, which is all over full of *Beggars*: And here the Style of Begging was a little al-

tered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas there they begged for the sake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for the *Souls that were in Purgatory*; and this was the *Stile* in all the other Parts of *Italy* thro' which I pass'd. In short, the Dispeopling of *Tuscany*, and most of the *Principalities of Italy*, but chiefly of the *Pope's Dominions*, which are more abandoned than any other Part of *Italy*, seemed to flow from nothing but the Severity of the *Government*, and the great Decay of *Trade*; for the greatest Trade of *Italy* being in *Silk*, the vast Importation of *Silks* that the *East-India Companies* bring into *Europe*, hath quite ruined all those that deal in this Manufacture: Yet this is not the chief Cause of the Dispeopling of those rich Countries; the Severity of the *Taxes* is the true Reason: Notwithstanding all that Decay of Trade, the *Taxes* are still kept up. Beside this, the vast Wealth of the *Convents*, where the only People of *Italy* are to be found, that live not only at their Ease, but in great Plenty and Luxury, makes many forsake all sort of Industry, and seek for a Retreat in one of those Seats of Pleasure; so that the People do not increase fast enough to make a new Race to come instead of those whom a hard *Government* drives away. It must needs surprize an unattentive Traveller, to see not only the *Venetian Territory*, which is indeed a rich Country, but the *Bailiages of the Switzers* and the Coast of *Genoa*, so full of People, when *Tuscany*, the *Patrimony*, and the *Kingdom of Naples*, have so few Inhabitants. In the Coast of *Genoa*, there is for many Miles as it were a constant Tract of *Towns and Villages*, and all those are well peopled, tho' they have scarce any Soil at all, lying under the *Mountains* that are very barren, and that expose them to a most uneasy Sun; and that they lye upon a boisterous Sea, that is almost always in a Storm, and that affords very few Fish: And yet the Gentleness of the *Government* draws such Multitudes thither, and those are so full of Wealth, that Money goes at two per Cent. But on the other Hand, to ballance this a little, so strange and wild a thing is

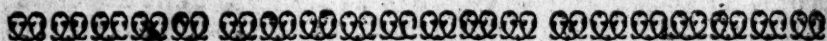
the Nature of Man, at least of *Italians*, that I was told, that the worst People of all *Italy* are the *Genoeses*, and the most generally corrupted in their *Morals*, as to all sorts of Vice; so that tho' a severe *Government* and *Slavery* are contrary to the Nature of Man, and to human Society, to *Justice* and *Equity*, and to that essential Equality that Nature hath made among Men; yet on the other Hand, all Men cannot bear that Ease and Liberty that become the human Nature. The *Superstition* of *Italy*, and the great Waste of Wealth that one sees in their *Churches*, particularly those prodigious Masses of *Plate*, with which their *Altars* are covered on Holydays, doth also sink their *Trade* extremely; for Silver being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when so much of that is Dead and circulates no more, it is no Wonder if such an Extravagation (if I may use so long and so hard a Word) of Silver, occasions a great Deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot one Remark that I made in the last Hill of the *Apenins*, just above *Florence*, that I never saw such tall and big *Cypresses* any where as grew over all that Hill, which seemed a little strange, that Tree being apt to be starved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are severe. All the ways in *Tuscany* are very rugged, except on the Sides of the *Arne*. But the Uneasiness of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the High-ways, which are all in very good Case: The *Inns* are wretched, and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet. This is the Plague of all *Italy*, when once one hath passed the *Apenins*; for except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the Pleasure of Traveling is much abated by the Inconveniences that one meets in every Stage thro' which he passes. I am,

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Yours.

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A Letter



A Letter from ROME.

I Am now in the last Stage of my Voyage over *Italy*; for since my last from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*; and have now satisfy'd my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this Place within a Day or two, and go to *Civita Vecchia*, and from thence by Sea to *Marseilles*, and so avoid an unpleasant *Winter's* Journey over the *Alps*. It is true I lose the Sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and some other Courts; but tho' I am told these deserve well the Pains of the Journey; yet when one rises from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another Time, can provoke his Appetite; so I confess freely, that the Sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my Stomach that way, that the Curiosity of seeing new Places is now very low with me; and, indeed, these that I have of late seen are such, that Places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

All the Way from *Florence*, thro' the *Great Duke's* Country, look'd so sad, that I concluded it must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy*; but, indeed, I chang'd my Note when I came into the *Pope's* Territories, at *Point Centino*, where there was a rich Bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as stock'd with Cattle: But as I pass'd from *M. Fiascone* to *Kiterbo*, this appear'd yet more amazing; for a vast champion Country lay almost quite deserted; and that wide Town, which is of so great a Compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the People in the ordinary Towns in *Scotland*, and in its worst Places, make a better Appearance. When I was within a Day's Journey of *Rome*, I fancy'd that the Neighbourhood of so great a City must mend the

the matter ; but I was much disappointed, for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly, that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattle upon it, to the tenth Part of what it could bear. The Surprise that this gave me increased upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other Side, chiefly all the Way to *Naples*, and on the Way to *Civita Vecchia*; for that vast and rich Champain Country that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* is above a hundred Miles long, and is in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is abandoned to such a Degree, that as far as ones Eye can carry one there is often not so much as a House to be seen, but on the Hills that are on the North-side of this *Valley*; And by this dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholsome, that it is not safe to be a Night in it all the Summer long; for the Water that lyes upon many Places not being drain'd it rots, and in the Summer this produces so many noisome Streams that it is felt even in *Rome* it self; and if it were not for the Breezes that come from the *Mountains*, the Air would be intolerable. When one sees all this large, but waste Country, from the Hill of *Marino*, twelve Miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a Word, it is the Rigour of the *Government* that hath driven away the Inhabitants; and their being driven away, hath now reduc'd it to such a Pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it: For such as would come to drain and cultivate it must run a great Hazard, and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other Reward of their Industry but an uneasy *Government*. It is the greatest Solicism in *Government* for the Prince to be *Elective*, and yet *Absolute*; for an *Hereditary Prince* is induc'd to consider his Posterity, and to maintain his People, so that those that come after him may still support the Rank which they hold in the World; but an *Elective Prince* hath nothing of that in his Eye, unless he hath a Pitch of Generosity, which is not ordinary among Men, and least of all among *Italians*, who have a Passion

a Passion for their Families, which is not known in other Places: And thus a *Pope*, who comes in late to this Dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn to those Councils by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sun-shine: And tho' anciently the *Cardinals* were a Check upon the *Pope*, and a sort of a Council, without whom he could do nothing even in *Temporals*; yet they have now quite lost that; and they have no other Share in Affairs than that to which the *Pope* thinks fit to admit them; so that he is the most absolute Prince in Europe. It is true, as to *Spirituals*, they retain still a large Share, so that in Censures and Definitions the *Pope* can do nothing regularly without their Concurrence; tho' it is certain, that they have not so good a Title to pretend to that, as to a Share in the *Temporal Principality*. For if the *Pope* derives any thing from St. Peter, all that is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what Method he thinks best, since the *Infallibility*, according to their Pretensions, rests singly in him; yet because there was not so much to be got by acting arbitrary in those Matters, and a summary way of exercising this Authority might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the Grounds on which it is built; therefore the *Popes* have let the *Cardinals* retain still a Share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho' they have no Claim to it, neither by any Divine nor Ecclesiastical Warrants; but as for the Endowments of the See of Rome, to which they may justly lay Claim, as being in a Manner the Chapter of that See, there is so much to be got by this that the *Popes* have ingrossed it wholly to themselves: And thus it is, that the Government of this Principality is very unsteady. Sometimes the *Pope's Family* are extremely glorious and magnificent; at other Times, they think of nothing but of establishing their House: Sometimes the *Pope* is a Man of Sense himself; Sometimes he is quite sunk, and as the last *Pope* was, he becomes a Child again thro' old Age; Sometimes he hath

particular Stiffness of Temper, with a great Slowness of Understanding, and an insatiable Desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now reigns. By this Diversity, which appears eminently in every new *Pontificate*, that commonly avoids those Excesses that made the former *Reign* odious, the *Councils* of the *Popedom* are weak and disjointed. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with Relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is more visible in the *Principality* it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this *Age* a Succession of four ravenous *Reigns*; and tho' there was a short Interruption in the *Reign* of the *Rospigliosi*, that coming after the *Barbarins*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Gighi's*, did not enrich it self; and yet it disordered the *Revenue*, by the vast Magnificence in which he reign'd, more in twenty-nine *Months* time, than any other had done in so many *Years*. The *Altieri* did, in a most scandalous Manner, raise themselves in a very short and despis'd *Reign*, and built one of the noblest *Palaces* in *Rome*. He that reigns now, doth not indeed raise his *Family* avowedly, but he doth not ease the People of their *Taxes*: And as there is no Magnificence in his *Court*, nor any publick Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*; so the many vacant *Caps* occasions many empty *Palaces*, and by this Means, there is so little Expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not possible for the People to live and pay the *Taxes*, which hath driven, as is believed, almost a fourth Part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome* during this *Pontificate*. And as the Pre-emption of the *Corn* makes, that there is no Profit made by the Owners, out of the Cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the *Pope*, so there are no Ways left here of improving ones *Money* to any considerable Advantage; for the publick *Banks*, which are all in the *Pope's* Hand, do not pay in Effect *three per Cent*, tho' they pretend to give *four per Cent* of Interest: The Settlement is indeed *four per Cent*, and this was thought so great an Advantage, that *Actions* on the *Pope's Bank* were bought at a *Hundred* and *sixteen* the *Hundred*.

Hundred. But this *Pope* broke thro' all this, and declared, that he would give all their Money again, unless they would pay him *thirty per Cent* for the continuing of this Interest; and thus for a hundred *Crowns* Principal, one not only paid at first one hundred and sixteen, but afterwards thirty, in all One hundred six and forty for the Hundred, which is almost the half lost; for whensoever the *Pope* will pay them back their Money, all the rest is lost: And while I am here, there is a Report that the *Pope* is treating with the *Genoefes* for Money at *two per Cent*; and if he gets it on those Terms, then he will pay his Debts and the Subjects that have put in Money in this Bank will by this Means lose six and forty *per Cent*, which is almost the half of their Stock. A Man of Quality at *Rome*, and an eminent *Church-man*, who took me likewise for one of their *Clergy*, because I wore the *Habit* of a *Church-man*, said, that it was a horrible Scandal to the whole Christian World, and made one doubt of the Truth of the *Christian Religion*, to see more Oppression and Cruelty in their Territory than was to be found even in *Turkey*; tho' it being in the Hands of *Christ's Vicar*, one should expect to find there the Pattern of a mild and gentle Government: And how (said he) can a Man expect to find his Religion here, where the common Maxims of Justice and Mercy are not so much as known. And I can never forget the lively Reflection that a *Roman Prince* made to me upon the Folly of all those severe Oppressions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such a Degeneracy of Spirit by their Necessities, that the *Spaniards*, whose Dominions look so big in the Map, are now brought so low; and if they had kept still the Possession they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would signify no more towards their Preservation than their other *Provinces* did; which, by their unskilful Conduct, they have both dispeopled and exhausted: Whereas by their losing those *Seven Provinces*, those States have fallen upon such wise Notions of Government, and have

have drawn so much *Wealth*, and such Numbers of *People* together, that *Spain* it self was now preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the Loss it made of those *Provinces* in the last; and those *States*, that if they had remained subject to *Spain*, would have signified little to its Support, did that now much more considerably, by being *Allies*, than they could have done, if they had not shaken off their Yoke.

Indeed if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such *Vice-Roys* and *Governors* as it has now in *Naples*, their Affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The *Marquis* of *Carpy*, in his Youth, intended to have taken so severe a Revenge of an Injury, that he thought the late *King* of *Spain* did him in an *Amour*, that he designed the blowing him up by Gunpowder when he was in the *Council-Chamber*; but that Crime was discovered in Time, and was not only forgiven him in Consideration of the Greatness of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for several Years *Ambassador* at *Rome*: He is now *Viceroy* of *Naples*, and is the only *Governor* of all the Places thro' which I passed, that is, without Exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of People; for during the few Years of his Ministry, he hath redressed such Abuses that seemed past Cure, and that required an Age to correct them: He hath repressed the Insolence of the *Spaniards* so much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no Occasion to complain of the Haughtiness of their Masters; for he proceeds against the *Spaniards* with no less Severity, when they give Cause for it, than against the *Neapolitans*: He hath taken the Pay of the Soldiers so immediately into his own Care, that they, who before his coming, were half naked, and robb'd such as passed on the Streets of *Naples* in Day-light, are now exactly pay'd, well disciplin'd, and so decently cloathed, that it is a Pleasure to see them: He examines their Musters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false Lists: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactness: And

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whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loaves out of the several Places of the Markets, and weighed them himself; and by some severe Punishments on those that sold the Bread too light, he hath brought this Matter to a just Regulation. He hath also brought the *Courts of Judicature*, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again; and it is believed, he hath Spies to watch in case the Trade of Bribes is found to be still going on: He hath fortify'd the *Palace*, which was before his Time so much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a Descent upon it. But the two Things that raise his Reputation most, are his extirpating of the *Banditti*, and the Regulation of the *Coin*, which he hath taken in Hand.

It is well enough known, what a Plague the *Banditti* have been to the *Kingdom*; for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Soldiers, if they had set upon them. These travelled about seeking Spoil all the *Summer* long; but in *Winter* they were harboured by some of the *Neapolitan Barons*, who gave them Quarters: And thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*, and there was a *Council* that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditti* committed to them, who as they caught some few, and hanged them, so they fined such *Barons* as gave them Harbour; and it was believed, that those Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand *Crowns* a Year. And thus the Disease went on; only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the Bottom of the Distemper. But when the present *Vice-Roy* entered upon the *Government*, he resolved to extirpate all the *Banditti*; and he first let all the *Barons* understand, that if they harboured them any more, a little Fine would not save them; but that he would proceed

proceed against them with the utmost Severity; and by this Means the *Banditti* could find no *Winter-Quarters*: So they betook themselves to some Fastness among the Hills, and resolved to make good the Passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst the Mountains. The *Vice-Roy* sent a great Body against them; but they defended themselves for some Time vigorously, and in one Sally they killed five hundred Men: But at last, seeing that they were like to be hard prest; and that the *Vice-Roy* intended to come against them in Person, they accepted of the Terms that he offered them, which was, a Pardon for what was past, both as to Life and Gallies, and Six Pence a Day, for their Entertainment in Prison during Life, or the *Vice-Roy's* Pleasure; and so they surrender'd themselves. They are kept in a large Prison, and now and then, as he sees Cause for it, he sends some few of them up and down to serve in *Garrisons*. And thus, beyond all Men's Expectation, he finished this Matter in a very few Months; and the *Kingdom of Naples*, that hath been so long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed, that in no Place of *Europe* do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security. As for the *Coin*, it, as all the *Spanish Money*, is so Subject to clipping, that the whole Money of *Naples* is now light, and far below the true Value; so the *Vice-Roy* hath resolved to redress this: He considers, that the Crying down of Money, that passeth upon the publick Credit, is a Robbing of those in whose Hands the Money happens to be when the Proclamations are put out, and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one will bear his Share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid some *Taxes* on the whole *Kingdom*, and hath got a great many to bring in some *Plate* to be coined: And when he hath thus prepared such a Quantity as may serve for the Circulation that is necessary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give out new Money for it.

Thus doth this *Vice-Roy* set such a Pattern to the other *Ministers* of the Crown of *Spain*, that if many would follow it, the State of their Affairs would be soon altered.

The *Kingdom* of *Naples* is the richest Part of all *Italy*; for the very *Mountains*, that are near the Half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either *Wine* or *Oil* in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great *Corn* Country, but it is excessive hot, and in some Years all is burnt up. The *Jesuits* are the *Proprietors* of near the Half of *Apulia*; and they treat their *Tenants* with the same Rigour that the *Barons* of this *Kingdom* do generally use towards their *Farmers*; for the *Commons* here are so miserably oppressed, that in many Places they die of Hunger, even amidst the great Plenty of their best Years; for the *Corn* is exported to *Spain*: But neither the *Spainards* nor the *Neopolitans* understand Trade so well as to be their own *Merchants* or *Carriers*, so that the *English* do generally carry away the Profit of this Trade. The *Oil* of this *Kingdom* is still a vast Trade, and the *Manufacture* of the *Wool* and *Soap* of *England* consumes Yearly some thousands of Tuns. The *Silk Trade* is so low, that it only serves themselves; but the *Exportation* is inconsiderable: The Sloth and Laziness of this People renders them incapable of making those Advantages of so rich a Soil, that a more industrious sort of People would find out: For it amazes a Stranger, to see in their little Towns the whole Men of the Town walking in the Market Places in their torn Clokes, and doing nothing; and tho' in some big Towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one *Inn*, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it is so bad, that our *Footmen* in *England* would make a grievous Outcry if they were no better lodged; nor is there any thing to be had in them: The *Wine* is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no *Viſuals*, except *Pigeons*, and the *Oil* is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*, he must resolve

resolve to indure a good deal of Misery in the four Days Journey that is between those two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that sees the Riches of the Soil, cannot comprehend: But as they have not Hands enough for their Soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no Wonder to see their Soil produce so little; that in the midst of all that Abundance that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations of Europe. But besides this which I have named, the vast and dead Wealth that is in the Hands of the Church-men is another evident Cause of their Misery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, assured me, that if it were divided into five parts, upon a strict Survey, it would be found, that the Church-men had four parts of the five; which he made out thus, they have in Soil above the Half of the Whole, which is two and a Half; and in Tithes, and Gifts, and Legacies, they have one and a Half more: For no Man dieth without leaving a considerable Legacy to some Church, or some Convent. The Wealth that one sees in the City of Naples alone, passeth Imagination; there are four and twenty Houses of the Order of the Dominicans, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the Franciscans, seven of the Jesuits; besides the Convents, of the Olivitans, the Theatines, the Carmelites, the Benedictines; and above all, for Situation and Riches, the Carthusians on the Top of the Hill that lieth over the Town. The Riches of the Annunciata are prodigious: It is the greatest Hospital in the World; the Revenue is said to be four hundred thousand Crowns a Year: The Number of the Sick is not so great as at Milan. Yet one Convenience for their Sick I observed in their Galleries, which was considerable, that every Bed stood as in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both Sides, separating it from the Beds on both Hands, and as much void Space of both Sides of the Bed, that the Bed itself took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are so many, that one

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can hardly believe the Numbers that they boast of, for they talk of many thousands that are not seen but are at Nurse: A great Part of the Wealth of this *House* goeth to the enriching their *Church*, which will be all over within crusted with inlayings of lovely Marble, in great Variety and Beauty of Colours. The *Plate* that is in the *Treasury* here and in the *Dome*, (which is but a mean Building, because it is ancient, but hath a noble Chapel, and a vast *Treasure*) and in a great many other *Churches*, are so prodigious, that upon the modestest Estimate, the *Plate* of the *Churches* of *Naples* amounts to eight Millions of *Crowns*. The new *Church* of the *Jesuits*, that of *St. John the Apostle* and that of *St. Paul*, are surprizingly rich; the Gilding and Painting that is on the *Roofs* of those *Churches* have cost Millions. And as there are about a hundred *Convents* in *Naples*, so every one of these, if it were in another Place, would be thought well worth-seeing, tho' the Riches of the greater *Convents* here, make many of them to be less visited. Every Year there is a new *Governor* of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand *Crowns*; and to make some Compensation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vast Piece of *Plate* to the *House*, a *Statue* for a *Saint* in *Silver*, or some *Celos* of a *Candlestick*, for several of those Pieces of *Plate* are said to be worth ten thousand *Crowns*; and thus all the *Silver* of *Naples* becomes dead and useless. The *Jesuits* are great Merchants here, their *Wine-Cellar* is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand *Hogheads*, and the best *Wine* of *Naples* is sold by them; yet they do not retail it out so scandalously as the *Minims* do, who live on the great Square before the *King-Roy's Palace*, and sell out their *Wine* by Retail: They pay no Duty, and have extraordinary good *Wine*, and are in the best Place of the *Town* for this Retail. It is true, the *Neopolitans* are no great Drinkers, so the Profits of this *Tavern* are not so great as they would be in colder

Countries; for here Men go only in for a Draught in the Mornings, or when they are thirsty. Yet the *House* groweth extream rich, and hath one of the finest *Chapels* that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbecoming Men of that Profession, and of so strict an *Order*. The *Convents* have a very particular Privilege in this Town; for they may buy all the Houses that lye on either Side, till the first Street that discontinueth the Houses; and there being scarce a Street in *Naples* in which there is not a *Convent*, by this Means they may come to buy in the whole Town. And the Progress that the Wealth of the *Clergy* makes in this *Kingdom* is so visible, that if there is not some Stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole *Kingdom*. It is an amazing Thing to see so profound an Ignorance, as reigns among the *Clergy*, prevail so effectually; for tho' all the secular Persons here speak of them with all possible Scorn, yet they are the Masters of the Spirits of the People. The Women are infinitely Superstitious, and give their Husbands no rest; but as they draw from them great Presents to the *Church*. It is true, there are *Societies* of Men at *Naples* of freer Thoughts than can be found in any other Place of *Italy*: The *Greek Learning* begins to flourish there, and the new *Philosophy* is much studied; and there is an *Assembly* that is held in *D. Joseph Valleta's* Library, (where there is a vast Collection of well chosen Books) composed of Men that have right Taste of true Learning and good Sense: They are all ill looked on by the *Clergy*, and represented as a Set of *Atheists*, and as the Spawn of *Pamponatius's* School: But I found no such Thing among them; for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable Number of them during the short Stay that I made among them: There is a learned Lawyer, *Francisco Andria*, that is considered as one of the most Inquisitive Men of the *Assembly*: There is also a Grand-child of the Great *Alciat*, who is very

very curious as well as learned. Few Church-men come into this Attempt for the Reviving of Learning among them: On the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all Things. Only one eminent Preacher, *Rinaldi*, that is Archdeacon of *Capua*, associates himself with them: He was once of the *Jesuits Order*, but left it; and as that only served to give a good Character of him to me, so upon a long Conversation with him, I found a great many other Things that possessed me with a high Value for him. Some Physicians in *Naples* are brought under the Scandal of *Atheism*; and it is certain, that in *Italy*, Men of searching Understanding, who have no other Idea of the *Christian Religion* but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for they believing it all alike in gross, without Distinction, and finding such notorious Cheats as appear in many Parts of their Religion, are upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preaching of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible Things. I saw a *Jesuit* go in a Sort of a Procession, with a great Company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a Place where a Mountebank was selling his Medicines, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the People with a Sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over, fearing lest his Action should grow tedious, and disperse the Company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor Men of any Reputation for Learning among the *Jesuits*. I was told, they had not Men capable to teach their Schools; and that they were forced to hire Strangers. The Order of the Oratory hath not that Reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*; and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in *Naples*, is among some few secular Priests.

The new Method of *Molino's* doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed, he hath above twenty thousand Followers in this City: And since this hath made some Noise in the World, and yet

is generally but little understood, I will give you some Account of him. He is a Spanish Priest, that seems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very ill Reasoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions. He hath writ a Book, which is intituled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short Abstract of the Mystical Divinity; the Substance of the whole, is reduced to this, That in our Prayers, and other Devotions, the best Methods are to retire the Mind from all gross Images, and so to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to present our selves before God: And then to sink into a Silence and Cessation of new Acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his Conduct. This way he prefers to the Multiplication of many new Acts, and different Forms of Devotion; and he makes small Account of corporal Austerities, and reduces all the Exercises of Religion to this Simplicity of Mind. He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in Religious Houses; but even to secular Persons, and by this he hath proposed a great Reformation of Mens Minds and Manners: He hath many Priests in Italy; but chiefly in Naples, that dispose those who confesse themselves to them, to follow his Method. The Jesuits have set themselves much against this Conduct, as foreseeing, that it may much weaken the Empire that Superstition hath over the Minds of People; that it may make Religion become a more plain and simple Thing, and may also open a Door to Enthusiasms: They also pretend, that his Conduct is factious and seditious; that this may breed a Schism in the Church. And because he saith, in some Places of his Book, That the Mind may rise up to such a Simplicity in its Acts that it may rise in some of its Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ, they have accused him, as intending lay to aside the Doctrine of Christ's Humanity; tho' it is plain, that he speaks only of the Purity of some single Acts. Upon all those Heads they have set themselves much against Molinos; and they

have also pretended, that some of his Disciples have infused into their Penitents, *That they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession*; which they thought weakened much the Yoke by which the Priests subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the Kingdom of Naples and in Sicily: He had also many Friends and Followers at Rome. So the Jesuits, as a Provincial of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own Force, got a great King, that is now extreamly in the Interests of their Order, to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the Danger of such Innovations. It is certain the Pope understands the Matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great Opinion of Molinos's Sanctity: Yet upon the Complaints of some Cardinals, that seconded the Zeal of that King, he and some of his Followers were clapt in the Inquisition, where they have been now for some Months, but they are still well used, which is believed to flow from the good Opinion that the Pope hath of him, who saith still, that tho' he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good Man. Upon this Imprisonment, Pasquin said a pleasant Thing: In one Week, one Man had been condemned to the Gallies for somewhat he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and Molinos was clapt in Prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, *That Men ought to bring their Minds to a State of inward Quietness*; from which the Name of Quietists was given to all his Followers. The Pasquinade upon all this was, *Si parliamo in Galere, si scrivemmo Impiccati, si siamo in quiete all' Sant' Ufficio: e che bisogno fore? If we speak, we are sent to the Gallies; if we write, we are hanged; if we stand quiet, we are clapt up in the Inquisition: What must we do then?* Yet his Followers at Naples are not daunted; but they believe, he will come out of this Trial victorious.

The City of *Naples*, as it is the best situated, and in the best Climate. so it is one of the Noblest Cities of *Europe*; and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more Beauty than either of them: The Streets are large and broad, the Pavement is great and noble, the Stones being generally above a Foot square, and it is full of Palaces, and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by daily Markets, so that Provisions are ever fresh, and in great Plenty; the Wine is the best of *Europe*, and both the Fish and Flesh is extream good: It is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-case is great; but it is now very richly furnish'd within with Pictures and Statues: There are in it some Statues of the *Ægyptian Deities*, of Touch-Stone, that are of great Value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an Ancient Roman Portico, that is very Noble, before St. Paul's Church. But without the City near the Church and Hospital of St. Gennaro, that is without the Gates, are the noble Catacombs, which because they were beyond any thing I saw in *Italy*, and to which the Catacombs of *Rome* are not to be compared, and since I do not find any Account of them in all the Books that I have yet seen concerning *Naples*, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long Galleries cut out of the Rock: There are three Stories of them one above another: I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it; but I saw the Passage to it. These Galleries are generally about twenty Foot broad, and about fifteen Foot high, so that they are noble and spacious Places, and not little and narrow as the Catacombs at *Rome*, which are only three or four Foot broad, and five or six Foot high. I was made believe, that these Catacombs of *Naples* went into the Rock nine Miles long; but for that I have it only by Report: Yet if this be true, they

they may perhaps run toward *Pozzolo*, and so they may have been the Burial Places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no Certainty. I walked indeed a great Way, and found Galleries going off on all Hands without End, and whereas in the *Roman Catacombs* there are not above three or four Rows of *Niches*, that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead Bodies were laid, here there are generally six or seven Rows of these *Niches*, and they are both larger and higher: Some *Niches* are for Childrens Bodies: And in many Places there are in the Floors, as it were, great Chests hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the Dead, as they are dried, in them; but I could see no Marks either of a Cover for these Holes, that looked like the Bellies of Chests, or of a facing to shut up the *Niches* when a dead Body was laid in them; so that it seems they were monstrous unwholsome and stinking Places, where some thousands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a Sight, and so odious a Smell; for the *Niches* shew plainly, that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In some Places of the Rock there is as it were a little *Chapel* hewn out in the Rock, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are *Niches* all round about; but I saw no Marks of any Wall that shut in such Places; tho' I am apt to think, these might be burying Places appropriated to particular Families. There is in some Places on the Walls and Arch, old *Mosaick Work*; and some Painting; the Colours are fresh, and the Manner and Characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the *Normans*, about six hundred Years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*. In some Places there are *Palm-trees* painted, and *Vines* in other Places. The Freshness of the Colours shew these could not have been done while this Place was improv'd for burying; for the Steams and Rotteness of the Air, occasion'd by so much Corruption, must have dissolved both *Plaster* and Colours. In one Place,

Place, there is a *Man* painted with a little Beard; and *Paulus* is written by his Head: There is another reaching him a Garland, and by his Head *Lord* is written, and this is repeated in another Place right over against it. In another Place I found a *Cross* painted, and about the upper Part of it these Letters *J. C. X. O.* and in the lower Part *N. J. K. A.* are painted. A learned *Antiquary*, that went with me, agreed with me, that the Manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above six hundred Years old; but neither of us knew what to make of these Letters: The lower seemed to relate to the last Word of the *Vision*, which it is said that *Constantine* saw with the *Cross* that appear'd to him: But tho' the first two Letters might be for *Jesus*, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inscriptions to put a *C.* for an *S.* and *X.* stands for *Christ*, yet we knew not what to make of the *O.* unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little Line in the Bottom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inscription is, *Jesus Christ God overcometh*. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta. Johannes*, which was a clear Sign of a barbarous Age: In another Place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it, that at Top; had no Inscription; those below it had these Inscriptions, *St. Catharina*, *St. Agape*, and *St. Margarita*, these Letters are clearly Modern; besides that, *Margaret* and *Katharina* are modern Names; and the Addition of *ta* a little above the *S.* were manifest Evidences, that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting, is six hundred Years. I saw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the Darkness, and the thick Air of the Place, so I stay'd not above an Hour in the *Catacombs*. This made me Reflect more particularly on the *Catacombs* of *Rome* than I had done; I could imagine no Reason why so little mention is made of those of *Naples*, when there is so much said concerning those of *Rome*; and could give my self no other Account of the Matter; but that it being a

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Maxim to keep up the Reputation of the *Roman Catacombs*, as the *Repositories* of the *Relicks* of the *Primitive Christians*, it would have much lessen'd their Credit, if it had been thought that there were *Catacombs* far beyond them in all Respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the Work of the *Primitive Christians*; and indeed, nothing seems more Evident, than that these were the *common Burying Places* of the ancient *Heathens*. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and such are the *Catacombs* of Rome that I saw, which were those of St. Agnes, and St. Sebastian, the Entry into them being without the Town; this answers the Law, tho' in Effect they run under it; for in those Days, when they had not the use of the *Needle*, they could not know which way they carried on those Works, when they were once so far engaged under Ground, as to lose themselves. It is a vain Imagination, to think that the *Christians*, in the primitive Times, were able to carry on such a Work; for as this prodigious Digging into such Rocks must have been a very visible thing by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast Number of Hands that must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think, that they could hold their *Assemblies* amidst the Annoyance of so much Corruption. I found the Steams so strong, that tho' I am as little subject to Vapours as most Men, yet I had all the Day long after I was in them, which was not near an Hour, a Confusion, and as it were a Boiling in my Head, that disorder'd me extreamly; and if there is now so much *stagnating Air* there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable Manner, while there were vast Numbers of Bodies rotting in those *Niches*. But besides this Improbability, that presents it self from the Nature of the thing, I called to mind a Passage of a Letter of *Cornelius*, that was *Bishop* of Rome, after the Middle of the third Century, which is preserved by *Eusebius* in his sixth Book, Chapter 43

in which we have the State of the *Church of Rome* at that Time set forth. There were forty six *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, as many *Subdeacons*, and ninety-four of the inferior *Orders* of the *Clergy* among them: There were also fifteen hundred *Widows* and other *Poor* maintained out of the publick *Charities*. It may be reasonably supposed, that the Numbers of the *Christians* were as great when this *Epistle* was writ, as they were at any Time before *Constantine's* Days; for as this was writ at the End of that long Peace, of which both *St. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* speak, that had continued above a hundred Years; so after this Time, there was such a Succession of *Persecutions*, that came so thick one upon another, after short Intervals of Quiet, that we cannot think the Numbers of the *Christians* increased much beyond what they were at this Time. Now there are two Particulars in this State of the *Clergy*, upon which one may make a probable Estimate of the Numbers of the *Christians*; the one is their *Poor*, which were but fifteen hundred. Now upon an exact Survey, it will be found, that where the *Poor* are well looked to, their Number rises generally to be the *thirtieth* or *fortieth* Part of Mankind; and this may be well believed to be the Proportion of the *Poor* among the *Christians* of that Age: For as their Charity was vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphery*, and others, object this to the *Christians* of that Time, that their *Charities* to the *Poor* drew vast Numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves *Christians*, that they might be supplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the *Christians*, then we may reckon the *Poor* the thirtieth Part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty produce five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think, that this rises up near to the full Sum of their Numbers, by the other Character of the Numbers of the *Clergy*; for as there were forty six *Presbyters*, so there were ninety four of the inferior *Orders*, who were two more than double the Number of the *Priests*; and

and this was in a Time in which the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the Clergy having then really more Work on their Hands, the instructing of their *Catechumens*, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and comforting the Weak, being Tasks that required so much Application, that in so vast a City as Rome was in those Days, in which it is probable the *Christians* were scattered over the City, and mixed in all the Parts of it, we make a Conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thousand Souls committed to his Care, so this rises to six and forty thousand; which comes very near the Sum that may be gathered from the other Hint, taken from the Number of their *Poor*. So that about fifty thousand is the highest Account to which we can reasonably raise the Numbers of the *Christians* of Rome in that Time; and of so many Persons, the Old, the Young, and the Women, make more than three fourth Parts; so that Men that were in condition to work, were not above twelve thousand; and by consequence, they were in no Condition to undertake and carry on so vast a Work. If *Cornelius* in that Letter speaks of the Numbers of the *Christians* in excessive Terms, and if *Tertullian* in his Apology hath also set out the Numbers of the *Christians* of his Time in a very high Strain, that is only to be ascrib'd to a pompous Eloquence, which disposeth People to magnifie their own Party; and we must allow a good deal to a Hyperbole, that is very natural to all that set forth their Forces in general Terms. It is true, it is not so clear when those vast Cavities were dug out of the Rocks. We know, that when the Laws of the twelve Tables were made, Sepulture was then in use: And Rome being then grown to a vast Bigness, no doubt they had Repositories for their Dead; so that since none of the Roman Authors mention any such Work, it may not be unreasonable to imagine, that these Vaults had been wrought and cut from the first Beginnings of the City, and so the later

Authors

Authors had no Occasion to take Notice of it. It is also certain, that tho' *Burning* came to be in use among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their first Custom of *Burying* Bodies long before *Constantine's* Time; so that it was not the *Christian Religion* that produced this Change. All our modern Writers take it for granted, that the Change was made in the Times of the *Antonins*; yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no Mention being made, in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for Burying-places, *Velferus's* Opinion seems more probable, that the Custom of *Burning* wore out by Degrees; and since we are sure, that they once *buried*, it is more natural to think, that the *Slaves* and the meaner sort of People were still *buried*, that being a less Expenceful, and a more simple Way of bestowing their Bodies than *Burning*, which was both pompous and chargeable; and, if there were already Burying-places prepared, it is much easier to imagine how the Custom of *Burying* grew universal without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for some Time find out upon what Grounds the *Modern Criticks* take it for granted, that Burying began in the Times of the *Antonins*, till I had the Happiness to talk of this Matter with the learned *Gronovius*, who seems to be such a Master of all the ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors always lying open before him: He told me, that it was certain, the Change from *Burning* to *Burying*, was not made by the *Christian Emperors*; for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. chap. 7.) says in plain Terms, that the Custom of *Burning* the *Bodies* of the *Dead* was quite worn out in that Age, which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid aside so late as by *Constantine*; and as there was no Law made by him on that Head, so he and the succeeding *Emperors*, gave such an entire Toleration to *Paganism*, admitting those of that *Religion* to the greatest Employments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any Order given against *Burning*; so that it is clear, the *Heathens* had changed it of their

own accord; otherways we should have found that among the Complaints that they made of the Grievances under which they lay from the *Christians*. But it is more difficult to fix the Time when this Change was made. *Grænovius* shewed me a Passage of *Phlegon's*, that mentions the Bodies that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that; for it might have relation to the Customs of *Burying* that might be elsewhere. And so *Pretonius* gives the Account of the Burial of the *Epheſian Matron's Husband*; but he made it apparent to me, that *Burying* was commonly practis'd in *Commodus's* Time; for *Xiphilinus* tells us, that in *Pertinax's* Time the Friends of those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, had dug up their Bodies, some bringing out only some Parts of them, and others raising their entire Bodies. The same Author also tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* Body, and so saved it from the Rage of the People; and here is a positive Evidence, that *Burying* was the common Practice of that Time. The same learned Person has since my first Conversation with him upon this Subject, suggested to me two Passages of *Festus Pompeius*, that seem to determine this whole Matter; and that tell us, by what Names those *Catacombs* were known in the Roman Time, whereabouts they were, and what sort of Persons were laid in them: We have also the Designation by which the Bearers were commonly known, and the Time when they carried out the Dead Bodies; and it appears particularly by them, that in the *Repositories*, of which that Author makes mention, there was no Care taken to preserve the Bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His Words are. *Puticulos antiquissimum genus sepultura appellatos, quod ibi in puteis sepelirentur homines: Qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam: Quæ quod ibi putescerent, induprius appellatos existimat puticulos Ælius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilis projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.*

puticuli. The other Passage runs thus. *Vespæ & Vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à minutis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the Thoughts that a general View of those Repositories give a Man, that it will not be hard to persuade him, that those *Burying-places*, that are now graced with the pompous Title of *Catacombs*, are no other than the *Putecoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the *Roman Slaves* were laid, and so without any farther Care about them were left to rot.

It is true, it is very probable, that as we see some of the *Roman Families* continu'd to *bury* their Dead, even when *Burning* was the more common Custom; so perhaps others continu'd after this to *burn* their Dead, the thing being indifferent, and no Law being made about it; and therefore it was particularly objected to the *Christians* after this Time, that they abhorr'd the Custom of *Burning* the Bodies of the Dead, which is mention'd by *Minutius Felix*: But this or any other Evidences, that may be brought from *Medals* of Consecrations after this Time, will only prove, that some were still *burnt*, and that the *Christians* practis'd *Burying* universally, as expressing their Belief of the Resurrection; whereas the *Heathens* held the thing indifferent. It is also clear, from the many genuine *Inscriptions* that have been found in the *Catacombs*, which bear the Dates of the *Consuls*, that these were the common *Burial-places* of the *Christians* of the *fourth* and *fifth* Century; for I do not Remember, that there is any one Date that is ancientser; and yet not one of the *Writers* of those *Ages* speak of them as the Work of the *Primitive Christians*. They speak indeed of the *Burial-Places* of the *Martyrs*; but that will prove no more, but that the *Christians* might have had their Quarters, and their Walks in those common *Burial-places*, where they laid their Dead, and which might have been known among them; tho' it is not likely, that they

would, in Times of *Persecution*, make such *Inscriptions* as might have expos'd the *Bodies* of their dead Friends to the Rage of their *Enemies*. And the spurious *Acts* of some *Saints* and *Martyrs* are of too little Credit to give any support to the common Opinion. *Damasus's* Poetry is of no better Authority. And tho' those Ages were inclin'd enough to give Credit to Fables, yet it seems this of those *Catacombs* having been the Work of the *Primitive Christians*, was too gross a thing to have been so early imposed on the World. And this Silence, in an Age in which *Superstition* was going on at so vast a Work as these *Catacombs* are, must have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were easie to carry this much farther, and to shew that the *Bas Reliefs*, that have been found in some of those *Catacombs*, have nothing of the Beauty of the ancient *Roman* Time. This is also more discernable in many *Inscriptions* that are more *Gothick* than *Roman*, and there are so many *Inscriptions* relating to Fables, that it is plain, that these were of later Times; and we see by *St. Jerome*, that the *Monks* began even in his Time, to drive a Trade of *Relicks*; so it is no Wonder, that to raise the Credit of such a Heap, as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable *Sculptures* and some *Inscriptions*; and perhaps shut up the Entrys into them with much Care and Secrecy, intending to open them upon some Dream or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation, which was often practised, in order to the drawing much Wealth and great Devotion, even to some single *Relick*; and a few being upon this Secret, either those might have dyed, or by the many Revolutions that happen'd in *Rome*, they might have been dispersed before they made the Discovery: And thus the Knowledge of those Places was lost, and came to be discovered by Accident in the last Age, and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible Magazine of *Bones*, which by all Appearance are no other than the *Bones* of the *Pagan Romans*, which are now sent over the World to feed a *Superstition*, that is as blind as it proves expensive.

And

And thus the *Bones* of the *Roman Slaves*, or at least, those of the meaner Sort, are now set in *Silver* and *Gold*, with a great deal of other costly Garniture, and entertain the *Superstition* of those who are willing to be deceiv'd, as well as they serve the Ends of those that seek to deceive the World. But because it cannot be pretended, that there was such a Number of *Christians* at *Naples*, as could have wrought such *Catacombs*, and if it had been once thought, that those were the common *Burial Places* of the ancient *Heathens*, that might have induced the World to think, that the *Roman Catacombs* were no other; therefore there hath been no Care taken to examine these. I thought this deserved a large Discourse, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this Subject.

I will not enter upon a long Description of that which is so well known, as *Mont Vesuvio*, it had roared so loud about a *Month* before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly sleep in the Nights, and some old Houses were so shaken by the *Earthquake*, that was occasioned by this Convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the Ground: And the great Convulsion above *fifty Years* ago, was so terrible, that there was no small Fear in *Naples*, tho' it lyes at the Distance of *seven Miles* from the Hill; yet the Storm was choaked under Ground; for tho' it smoak'd much more than ordinary, yet there was no Eruption: It was indeed *smoaking* not only in the Mouth of the little *Mount*, that is formed within the great Waste that the Fire hath made, but also all along the Bottom that is between the outward Mouth of this *Mountain* (which is four Miles in Compass) and that inward *Hill*. When one sees the Mouth of this Fire, and so great a Part of the Hill which is covered some Foot deep with Ashes and Stones of a metalick Composition, that the Fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fuel of so lasting a Burning, that hath calcined so much Matter, and spewed out such prodigious Quantities. It is plain, there are vast *Veins* of *Sulphur* all along in this Soil,

Soil, and it seems in this *Mountain* they run along thro' some *Mines* and *Rocks*; and as their slow Consumption produceth a perpetual Smoak, so when the Air within is so much rarify'd that it must open it self, it throws up those Masses of *Mettle* and *Rock* that shut it in; but how this *Fire* draws in Air to nourish its Flame is not so easily apprehended, unless there is either a Conveyance of Air under Ground, by some undiscover'd Vacuity, or a more insensible Trans-mission of Air thro' the Pores of the Earth. The Heat of this Hill operates so much upon the Soil, that lies upon it towards the Foot of it, that it produceth the richest Wine about *Naples*, and it also purifieth the Air so much, that the *Village* at the Bottom is thought the best Air of the Country, so that many come from *Naples* thither for their Health. *Ischia*, that is an *Island* not far from *Naples*, doth also sometimes spew out Fire.

On the other Side of *Naples* to the West, one passeth thro' the *Cave* that pierceth the *Pausalippe*, and is four hundred and forty Paces long; for I walked it on Foot to take its true Measure; it is twenty Foot broad, and at first forty Foot high, but afterwards it is but twenty Foot high: The Stone cut out here is good for Building, so that as this open'd the Way from *Pozzolo* to *Naples*, it was also a Quarry for the building of this Town. All along the Way here, one discovers a strange Boiling within the Ground; for a little beyond the Grot of *Pausalippe*, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is on the one Hand a Bath, occasioned by a Steam that riseth so hot out of the Ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it he finds himself all over in a Sweat, which is very proper for some Diseases, especially that which carries its Name from *Naples*: And about twenty Paces from thence, there is another little Grot, that sends out a poisonous Steam, that as it puts out a Candle as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living Creature within a Minute of Time; for in half that Time a Dog, upon which the Experiment is common-

ly try'd (the Grot being from thence called *Grotto de Cane*) fell into a Convulsion. From that one goeth to see the poor Rests of *Pozzolo*, and of all that Bay, that was once all about a Tract of Towns, it having been the Retreat of the *Romans*, during the Heats of the Summer. All the *Rarities* here, have been so often and so copiously describ'd, that I am sensible I can add nothing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the *Amphitheatre*, or of *Cicero*, and *Virgil's* Houses; for which there is nothing but a dubious Tradition; they are ancient Brick-Buildings of the *Roman* way, and the Vaults of *Virgil's* House are still intire. The *Sulfatara* is a surprizing thing; here is a Bottom, out of which the Force of the Fire, that breaks out still in many Places in a thick steaming Smoak, that is full of *Brimstone*, did throw up, about a hundred and fifty Years ago, a vast Quantity of Earth, which was carried above three Miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruins of a Town that was overwhelmed with this Eruption, which is of a very considerable Height. They told me, that there was before that Time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one sees the Beginnings in the Bay at some Distance from the Shore: It carrieth still the Name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Caesar*. But by the Swelling of the Ground upon the Eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this Passage is stoppt, and the *Averno* is now fresh Water: It is eighteen Fathom deep. On the Side of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sybil* is said to have given out her *Inspirations*: The hewing it out of the Rock hath been a prodigious Work; for the Rock is one of the hardest Stones in the World, and the Cave goeth in seven hundred Foot long, twenty Foot broad, and as I could guess, eighteen Foot high: And from the End of this great Gallery, there is a narrow Passage of three Foot broad, two hundred Foot long, and seven high, to a little Apartment, to which we go in a constant sloping Descent from the great Cave: Here are
three

three little Rooms, in one of them there are some Relics of an old *Mosaick*, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over; there is also a Spring of Water, and a *Bath*, in which it is supposed the *Sybil* bathed her self; and from this *Cave* it is said, that there runs a *Cave* all along to *Cuma*, which is three long Miles, but the Passage is now choakt by the falling in of the *Rock* in several Places. This Piece of *Work* amazed me. I did not much mind the popular Opinion that is easily receiv'd there, that all this was done by the *Devil*; the Marks of the Chizzel in all the Parts of the *Rock* sheweth, that this is not a Work of Nature. Certainly they had both much Leisure, and many Hands at their Command, who set about it; and it seems to have been wrought out with no other Design but to subdue the People more intirely to the Conduct of the *Priests* that managed this *Imposture*; so busie and industrious hath the Ambition and Fraud of the *Priests* been in all *Ages*, and in all corrupt *Religions*. But of all the Scenes of noble Objects that present it self in the *Bay* of *Pozzolo*, the Relics of *Caligula's Bridge* are the most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten of the *Pillars* that supported the *Arches*, and of some of the *Arches*, the half is yet intire. I had not a Line with me to examine the Depth of the Water where the furthest of those *Pillars* is built; but my *Waterman* assured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have since my being in *Naples*, instructed one that was going thither in this Particular, and have received this Account from him, That he had taken Care to plum the Water at the furthest *Pillar* of *Caligula's Bridge*, on the *Pozzolo* Side, and found it was seven Fathom and a half deep; but he adds, that the *Watermen* assured him, that on the other Side before *Baia*, the Water was twenty six Fathom deep; but as he had not a Plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the *Watermen* had assured him, that the Water was ten Fathom deep on the *Pozzolo* Side, tho' upon Tryal he found it was only seven and a half:

And

And by this Measure one may suppose that the Water is twenty Fathom deep on the other Side: So that it is one of the most astonishing Things that one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in such a Depth of Water.

This I cannot believe, but it is certainly so deep that one can scarce imagine how it was possible to build in such a Depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea, that seems yet more impossible. It is a noble Monument of the profuse and extravagant Expence of a *Brutal Tyrant*, who made one of the vastest Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of Sea; meerly to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his Vanity. As for *Agripina's Tomb*, it is no great Matter, only the *Bass Reliefs* are yet intire. The marvellous *Fish-pond* is a great Basin of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, standing upon eight and forty great Pillars, all hewed out of the Rock; and they are laid over with four crufts of the old Plaister, which is now as hard as Stone. This is believed to be a Work of *Nero's*: And about a Quarter of a Mile from thence, there is another vast Work, which goeth into a Rock; but at the Entrance there is a noble *Portico* built of Pillars of Brick; and as one enters into the Rock, he finds a great many Rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaister, which is still intire, and so white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made; there are a vast Number of those Rooms, they are said to be a hundred; from whence this *Cave* carrieth the Name of the *Centum Camera*. This hath been as expensive a Work as it is useless; it is intituled to *Nero*, and here they say he kept his Prisoners. But there is nothing in all this Bay that is both so curious and so useful as the Baths, which seem to flow from the same Reason that is the Cause of those Eruptions in the *Vesuvio* and *Sulfatara*, and the Grottoes formerly mentioned, that as this Heat makes some Fountains there

to be *boiling hot*, so it sends up a *Steam thro' the Rock*, that doth not break thro' the Pores of the Stone where it is hard; but where the *Rock* is soft and spungy, there the *Steams* come thro' with so melting a Heat, that a Man is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat; but if he stoops low in the Passages that are cut in the *Rock*, he finds no heat, because there the *Rock* is hard. Those *Steams*, as they are all *hot*, so they are impregnated with such *Minerals* as they find in their way thro' the *Rock*; and near this *Bath* there are *Galleries* hewed out of the *Rock*, and faced with a Building; in which there are, as it were, *Bedsteads* made in the Walls, upon which, those that come thither, to sweat for their Health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloths, and so comes regularly out of their Sweats.

It is certain, that a Man can no where pass a Day of his Life, both with so much Pleasure, and with such Advantage, as he finds in this Journey to *Pozzolo*, and all along the *Bay*: But tho' anciently this was so well built, so peopled, and so beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one see more visibly what a Change Time brings upon all Places; for *Naples* hath so intirely eat out this Place, and drawn its *Inhabitants* to it. That as *Pozzolo* it self is but a small *Village*, so there is now no other in all this *Bay*, which was anciently built almost all round; for there were seven big *Towns* upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in *Naples*, I cannot pass by that noble Remnant of the *Via Appia*, that runs along thirty Miles of the *Way* between it and *Rome*, without making some mention of it: The *High-way* is twelve Foot broad, all made of huge *Stones*, most of them blue, and they are generally a Foot and half large of all Sides: The Strength of this *Cause-way* appears in its long Duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred Years; and is in most Places, for several Miles together, as intire as when it was first made: And the Botches that have been made for mending such Places,

Places, that have been worn out by Time, shew a very visible Difference between the ancient and the modern Way of Paving. One Thing seems strange, that the Way is level with the Earth on both Sides: Whereas so much Weight as those Stones carry, should have sunk the Ground under them by its Pressure, Besides, that the Earth, especially in low Grounds; receives a constant Increase chiefly by the Dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which Reasons should make a more sensible Difference between those Ways and the Soil on both Sides: And this makes me apt to believe, that anciently those Ways were a little raised above the Level of the Ground, and that a Course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an Equality. Those Ways were chiefly made for such as go on Foot; for as nothing is more pleasant, than to walk along them, so nothing more inconvenient for Horses and all sorts of Carriages; and indeed Mules are the only Beasts of Burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several Remains of Roman Antiquities at the Mole of *Lajeta*; but the Isle of *Caprea*, now called *Capri*, which is a little Way into the Sea, off from *Naples*, gave a strange Idea of *Tiberius's* Reign, since it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to see a Prince abandon the best Seats and Palaces of Italy, and shut himself up in a little Island, in which I was told, there was a Tradition of seven little Palaces that he built in it; or to see so vast a Body as the Roman Empire so governed by such a Tyrannical Prince, at such a Distance from the chief Seat, so that all might have been reversed long before that the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to see so vast a State, that had so great a Sence of Liberty, subdued by so brutal, and so voluptuous a Man as *Anthony*, and so raw a Youth as *Augustus*, so the Wonder is much improved, when we see a Prince at a hundred and fifty

Miles Distance, shut up in an Island, carry the Reins of so great a Body in his Hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to Rome, which as it was once the Empress of the World, in a Succession of many Ages, so it hath in it at present more curious Things to entertain the Attention of a Traveler than any other Place in Europe. On the Side of Tuscany, the Entry into Rome is very surprizing to Strangers; for one cometh along for a great many Miles upon the Remains of the *Via Flamminia*, which is not indeed so intire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the Roman Greatness, who laid such Cause-ways all Italy over. And with in the Gate of the *di Popula*, there is a noble *Obelisk*, a vast Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several Hands one sees a long *Vista* of Streets. There is not a Town in these Parts of the World, where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces are so noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean; which indeed discovers very visibly the Misery under which the Romans groan. The Churches of Rome are so well known, that I will not adventure on any Description of them, and indeed I had too transcient a View of them, to make it with that Degree of Exactness which the Subject requires. St. Peter's alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its Length, Height and Breadth are all so exactly proportioned, and the Eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first View, doth not appear so vast as it is found to be upon a more particular Attention. And as the four Pillars, upon which the *Capitol* rises, are of such a prodigious Bigness, that one would think they were strong enough to bear any Superstructure whatsoever, so when one climbs up to the Top of that vast Height, he wonders what Foundation can bear so huge a Weight, supposing the Church is of a vast Height, so the *Capitol* rises four hundred and

and fifteen big Steps above the Roof of the Church. In the Height of the Concave of this *Cupola*, there is a Representation, that tho' it can hardly be seen from the Floor below, unless one hath a good Sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much Scandal, yet it is a gross Indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient Man compassed about with *Angels*. I will say nothing of the great *Altar*; of the *Chair* of *St. Peter*; of the great *Tombs*, of which, the three Chief are *Paul* the III. *Urban* the VIII. and *Alexander* the VII. nor of the vast *Vaults* under this Church, and the Remains of *Antiquity* that are reserved in them: Not will I undertake a Description of the adjoining *Palace*, where the Painting of *Corridori*, and of many of the Rooms, by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo*, are so rich, that one is sorry to see a Work of that Value laid on *Fresco*, and which must by Consequence wear out too soon, as in several Places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous *Chapel* of *Sisto V.* and that is all painted in *Fresco*, one Corner that represents the Murther of the renowned *Admiral Chastillon*; and that hath written under it those Words, *Res Colinii necem probat*. The vast Length of the *Gallery* on one Side, and of the *Library* on another, do surprize one; the *Gardens* have many *Statues* of a most excessive Value, and some good *Fountains*; but the *Gardens* are ill maintained both here, and in the *Palace* on the *Quirinal*. And indeed, in most of the *Palaces* of *Rome*, if there were but a small Cost laid out to keep all in good Case that is brought together at so vast a Charge, they would make another sort of Show, and be looked at with much more Pleasure. In the Apartments of *Rome*, there are a great many Things that offend the Sight: The *Doors* are generally mean, and the *Floors* meaner, except in the *Palace* of *Prince Borghese*, whereas there is the vastest Collection of the best *Pieces*, and of the Hands of the greatest Masters that are in all Europe,

Europe, so the Doors and Looks give not that Dis-
taste to the Eye one finds elsewhere. The Flooring
of the *Palaces* is all of *Brick*; which is so very mean,
that one sees the Disproportion that is between the
Floors and the rest of the Room not without a sen-
sible Perception and Dislike. It is true, they say
their *Air* is so cold and moist in *Winter*, that they
cannot pave with *Marble*; and the Heat is some-
times so great in *Summer*, that the Flooring of *Wood*
would crack with Heat, as well as be eat up by the
Vermin that would nestle in it. But if they kept in
their great *Palaces* Servants to wash their Floors,
with that Care that is used in *Holland*, where the
Air is moister, and the *Climate* is more productive
of *Vermin*, they would not find such Effects from
Wooden Floors as they pretend. In a Word there
are none that lay out so much Wealth all at once,
as the *Italians* do upon the Building and Finish-
ing of their *Palaces* and *Gardens*, and that after-
wards bestow so little upon the Preserving of them.
Another Thing I observed in their *Palaces*; there is
indeed a great Series of noble Rooms one within an-
other, of which their Apartments are composed; but
I did not find, at the End of the Apartment, where
the Bed-Chambers is, such a Disposition of Rooms
for Back-Stairs, Dressing-Rooms, Closets, Servants
Rooms, and other Conveniences as are necessary for
accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is
not so necessary for an Apartment of State, in which
Magnificence is more considered than Convenience;
but I found the same want in those Apartments in
which they lodged; so that notwithstanding all the
Riches of their *Palaces*, it cannot be said, that they
are well lodged in them; and their *Gardens* are yet
less understood, and worse kept than their *Palaces*.
It is true, the *Villa Borgheze* ought to excepted,
where, as there is a prodigious Collection of *Bass Re-
liefs*, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered
all over, that are of a vast Value, so the *Statues*
within, of which some are of *Porphyry*, and others of
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Touchstone, are amazing Things. The whole Ground of this *Park*, which is about three Miles in Compass, and in which there are six or seven *Lodges*, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I was in an *English Park* when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better situated upon a higher Ground, and hath more *Water-works*, and twice the Extent of the other in Soil; but neither doth the *House* or *Statues* approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the Grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But for the Furniture of the *Palaces* of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with *Pictures*; and for those Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad Gold Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a Gold Fringe at Top and Bottom; but there is very little *Tapistry* in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this Digression from the general View that I was giving you of the *Pope's Palace*. I named one Part of it, which will engage me into a new Digression, as it well deserves one, and that is, the *Library* of the *Vatican*: The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a Collection of *Books* that filleth a Man's Eye: There is first a great *Hall*, and at the End of it there runs out, on both Sides, two *Galleries* of so vast a Length, that tho' the Half of them is already furnished with *Books*, yet one would hope that there is Room left for more new *Books* than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelbergh Library* stands by it self, and filleth the one Side of the *Gallery*, as the *Duke of Urbin's Library* of *Manuscripts* filleth the other. But tho' these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such *Antiquity* as those of *Heidelbergh*. When it appeared that I was come from *England*, King *Henry the VIII's Book* of the *Seven Sacraments*, with an *Inscription* writ upon it with his own Hand to *Pope Leo the Xth.* was shewed me; together with a Collection of some *Letters* that he writ to *Anna Bo-*
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lar, of which some are in *English*, and some in *French*. I, that knew his Hand well, saw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many *Latin Manuscripts* of great *Antiquity* in this *Library*; some few of *Virgil's* I saw, writ in *Capitals*. But that which took up almost half of one Day that I spent at one Time in this Place, related to the present Dispute that is on Foot between Mr. *Schellstrat* the *Library-keeper*, and Mr. *Maimbourg*, concerning the *Council of Constance*. The two Points in Debate are the Words of the *Decree*, made in the *fourth Session*, and the *Pope's Confirmation*. In the *fourth Session*, according to the *French Manuscripts*, a *Decree* was made, subjecting the *Pope*, and all other Persons whatsoever, to the *Authority of the Council*, and to the *Decrees* it was to make, and to the *Reformation* it intended to establish both in the *Head* and the *Members*; which as it implies, that the *Head* was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, so it sets the *Council* so directly above the *Pope*, that this *Session* being confirmed by the *Pope*, putteth those who assert the *Pope's Infallibility* to no small strait. For if *Pope Martin*, that approved this *Decree*, was infallible, then this *Decree* is good still; and if he was not infallible, no other *Pope* was infallible. To all this *Schellstrat* answers from his *Manuscripts*, that the Words of a *Reformation in Head and Members*, are not in the *Decree* of that *Session*; and he did shew me several *Manuscripts*, of which two were evidently writ during the *Sitting of the Council*, and were not at all dashed, in which these Words were not. I know the Hand and way of Writing of that Age too well to be easily mistaken in my Judgment concerning those *Manuscripts*; but if those Words are wanting, there are other Words in them that seem to be much stronger for the *Superiority of the Council* above that *Pope*. For it is decreed, that *Popes*, and all other Persons, were bound to submit to the *Decisions of the Council*, as to *Faith*; which Words are not in the *French Manuscripts*. Upon this I told,

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Mr. Schelstrat, that I thought the Words in these *Manuscripts* were stronger than the other, since the Word *Reformation*, as it was used in the Time of that *Council*, belonged chiefly to the correcting of *Abuses*, it being often applied to the *Regulations* that were brought to a more exact Observation of the *Rules* of their *Order* : So tho' the *Council* had decreed a *Reformation* both of *Head* and *Members*, I do not see that this would import more, than that the *Papacy* had fallen into some *Disorders* that needed a *Reformation* : And this is not denied, even by those who assert the *Pope's Infallibility*. But a Submission to Points of *Faith*, that is expressly asserted in the *Roman Manuscripts*, is a much more positive Evidence against the *Pope's Infallibility* : And the Word *Faith* is not capable of so large a Sense as may be justly ascribed to *Reformation*. But this Difference, in so main a Point between *Manuscripts* concerning so late a Transaction gave me an Occasion to reflect on the vast Uncertainty of *Tradition*, especially of Matters that are at a great Distance from us ; when those that were so lately transacted are so differently represented in *Manuscripts*, and in which, both those of *Paris* and *Rome* seem to carry all possible Evidences of Sincerity. As for the *Pope's* Confirmation of that *Decree*, it is true, by a *General Bull*, *Pope Martin* confirmed the *Council of Constance* to such a Period ; but besides that, he made a particular *Bull*, as *Schelstrat* assured me, in which he enumerated all the *Decrees* that he confirmed, and amongst those, this *Decree* concerning the *Superiority* of the *Council* is not named ; this seemed to be of much more Importance, and therefore I desired to see the *Original* of the *Bull* ; for there seems to be just Reasons to apprehend a Forgery here : He promised to do his Endeavours, tho' he told me, that would not be easie ; for the *Bulls* were strictly kept ; and the next Day when I came, hoping to see it, I could not be admitted ; but he assured me, that if that had not been the last Day of my stay at *Rome*, he would

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have procured a Warrant for my seeing the *Original*: So this is all I can say as to the *Authenticity* of that *Bull*. But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree to Mr. *Schellstrat*, that the *General Bull* of *Confirmation* ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular *Decrees*; but since that particular *Bull* was never discovered till he found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the *Forms* of the *Constitution*; and was a fraudulent Thing, of which no Noise was to be made in that *Age*, and therefore in all the *Disputes* that followed in the *Council* of *Basil*, between the *Pope* and *Council*, upon this very Point, no mention was ever made of it by either Side; and thus it can have on Force, unless it be to discover the *Artifices* and *Fraud* of that *Court*: That at the same Time in which the *Necessity* of their Affairs obliged the *Pope* to confirm the *Decrees* of the *Council*, he contrived a secret *Bull*, which in another *Age* might be made use of to weaken the Authority of the *General Confirmation* that he gave: And therefore a *Bull* that doth not pass in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority; and so this pretended *Bull* cannot limit the other *Bull*. There were some other Things, relating to this Debate, that were shewed me by Mr. *Schellstrat*; but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large Account of the learned Men at Rome; *Bellori* is deservedly famous for his great Knowledge in the *Greek* and *Ægyptian Antiquities*, and for all that belongs to the *Mythologies* and *Superstitions* of the *Heathens*, and hath a Closet richly furnished with Things relating to those Matters; *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his Understanding of the old *Roman Architecture* and *Fabricks*; *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the *Jesuits College*, and is much above the common Rate both for *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks* and *Church History*. And he to whom I was the most obliged, *Abbot Nazari*, hath so general a View of the several Parts

of *Learning*, tho' he hath chiefly applyed himself to *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks*, and is a Man of so ingaging a *Civility*, and used me in so particular a Manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to see, all the Acknowledgments of Esteem and Gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in *Cardinal d'Estre* all the Advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, a generous *Civility*, and a Measure of Knowledge far above what can be expected from a Person of his Rank; but as he gave a noble Protection to one of the *most learned Men* that this Age hath produced, Mr. Launnoy, who lived many Years with him, so it is visible, that he made a great Progress by the Conversation of so extraordinary a Person; and as for *Theological Learning*, there is now none of the *College* equal to him. *Cardinal Howard* is too well known in *England* to need any *Character* from me: The Elevation of his present Condition hath not in the least changed him: He hath all the Sweetness and Gentleness of Temper that we saw in him in *England*, and he retains the unaffected Simplicity and Humility of a *Frier* amidst all the Dignity of the *Purple*; and as he sheweth all the generous Care and Concern for his *Countrymen* that they can expect from him, so I met with so much of it, in so many obliging Marks of his Goodness for my self, that went far beyond a common *Civility*, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told the *Pope's Confessor* was a very extraordinary Man for the *Oriental Learning*, which is but little known in *Rome*: He is a Master of the *Arabick Tongue*, and hath writ, as *Abbot Nazari* told me, the learnedest Book against the *Mahometan Religion*, that the World hath seen, but is not yet printed: He is not so much esteemed in *Rome* as he would be elsewhere; for his Learning is not in vogue; and the *School-Divinity*, and *Casuistical Learning*, being that for which *Divines* are most esteemed there, he whose Studies lead him another Way is not so much

much valued as he ought to be; and perhaps the small Account that the *Pope* makes of *Learned Men* turns somewhat upon the *Confessor*; for it is certain, that this is a *Reign* in which *Learning* is very little encouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have, for the present *Pontificate*, one made a pleasant Reflection to me, he said, Those *Popes* that intended to raise their *Families*, as they saw the Censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things, that might soften the Spirits of the People. No Man did more for beautifying *Rome*, for finishing *St. Peters*, and the *Library*, and for furnishing *Rome* with *Water*, than *Pope Paul* the V. tho' at the same Time he did not forget his *Family*; and tho' the other *Popes*, that have raised great *Families*, have not done this to so eminent a Degree as he did, yet there are many Remains of their Magnificence; whereas those *Popes* that have not raised *Families*, have, it seems, thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and so they have not done much, either to recommend their Government to their *Subjects*, or their *Reign* to *Posterity*; and it is very plain, that the present *Pope* taketh no great Care of this. His Life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all those publick Scandals that make a Noise in the World: And there is at present a Regularity in *Rome*, that deserveth great Commendation; for publick Vices are not to be seen there: His personal *Sobriety* is also singular. One assured me, that the Expence of his *Table* did not amount to a *Crown* a Day, tho' this is indeed short of *Sisto V.* who gave Order to his *Steward* never to exceed five and twenty *Bajoicks*, that is, eighteen Pence a Day for his *Diet*. The *Pope* is very careful of his Health, and doth never expose it, for upon the least Disorder, he shuts himself up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the least Indisposition many Days; but his Government is severe, and his *Subjects* are ruined.

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And here one thing cometh into my Mind which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the *Poverty* of a *Nation* not only dispeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakening the natural Fertility of the *Subjects*; for as Men and Women well cloathed and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the teasing Anxieties that Want brings with it, must be much more lively than those that are pressed with Want, so it is very likely, that the one must be much more disposed to propogate than the other: And this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the *Fruitfulness* of *Geneva* and *Switzerland* with the *Barrenness* that reigns over all *Italy*. I saw two extraordinary Instances of the copious Productions of *Geneva*; Mr. *Tronchin*, that was *Professor* of *Divinity*, and *Father* to the *judicious* and *worthy Professor* of the same Name, that is now there, dyed at the Age of seventy six *Years*, and had an hundred and fifteen *Persons* all alive, that had either descended from him, or by Marriage with those that descended from him, call'd him *Father*: And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborious *Preacher* of that *Town*, that is descended from the *Family* of the *Calendrini*, who receiving the *Reformation* about a hundred and fifty *Years* ago, left *Lucca* their *Native City*, with the *Turetini*, the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*, and some others that came and settled at *Geneva*: He is now but seven and forty *Years* old, and yet he hath a hundred and five *Persons* that are descended of his *Brothers* and *Sisters*, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to Eighty, and the *Family* multiplieth as it hath done, he may see some Hundreds that will be in the same Relation to him; but such things as these are not to be found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a Stranger more in *Rome*, than to see the great *Fountains* of *Water* that are almost in all the Corners of it: That old *Aqueduct* which *Paul* the V. restored, cometh from a Collection of *Sources* five and thirty Miles distant from *Rome*.

Rome, that runs all the Way upon an *Aqueduct* in a Channel that is vaulted, and is liker a *River* than a *Fountain*: It breaketh out in five several *Fountains*, of which some give Water about a Foot square. That of *Sixtus* the V. the great *Fountain* of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no Decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious Quantity of *Water*. The glorious *Fountain* in the *Piazza Navona*, that hath an Air of Greatness in it that surprizeth one; the *Fountain* in the *Piazza de Spagna*, those before *St. Peter's* and the *Palazza Farnese*, with many others, furnish *Rome* so plentifully, that almost every private House hath a *Fountain* that runs continually. All these I say, are noble Decorations, that carry an Usefulness with them that cannot be enough commended, and gives a much greater Idea of those who have taken Care to supply this *City* with one of the chief Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, than of others, who have laid out Millions meerly to bring Quantities of *Water* to give the Eye a little Diversion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectually eternized their Fame, if they had been imploy'd as the *Romans* did their Treasures, in furnishing great Towns with *Water*.

There is an universal *Civility* that reigns among all sorts of People at *Rome*, which in a great Measure flows from their *Government*; for every Man being capable of all the Advancements of that *State*, since a Simple *Ecclesiastick* may become one of the *Monsignori*, and one of these may be a *Cardinal*, and one of these may be chosen *Pope*, this makes every Man behave himself towards all other Persons with an Exactness of Respect; for no Man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes Professions of Esteem and Kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of Persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The Conversation of *Rome* is generally upon *News*, for tho' there is no *News* printed there, yet in the several *Antichambers* of the *Cardinals* (where

if they make any considerable Figure, there are *Assemblies* of those that make their Court to them) one is sure to hear all the *News* of *Europe*, together with many speculations upon what passeth. At the *Queen* of *Sweden*'s, all that relateth to *Germany* or the *North* is ever to be found; and that *Princess*, that must ever Reign among all that have a true Taste either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her Drawing-Rooms the best Court of the *Strangers*; and her Civility, together with the vast Variety with which she furnisheth her Conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*: I will not use her own Words to my self, which was, *That she now grew to be one of the Antiquities of Rome*. The *Ambassadors* of *Crowns*, who live here in another Form than in any other Court, and the *Cardinals* and *Prelates* of the several *Nations*, that do all meet and center here, make, that there is more *News* in *Rome* than any where; for *Priests*, and the Men of *Religious Orders*, write larger and more particular *Letters* than any other sort of Men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loss of Time that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that studies *Antiquities*, *Pictures*, *Statues*, or *Musick*, there is more Entertainment for him at *Rome* than in all the rest of *Europe*; but if he hath not a Taste of these things, he will soon be weary of a Place where the Conversation is always general, and where there is little Sincerity or Openness practised, and by consequence, where Friendship is little understood. The *Women* here begin to be a little more conversable, tho' a *Nation*, naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great Liberty in a *City* that is composed of *Ecclesiasticks*, who being denied the Privilege of *Wives* of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the *Wives* of others. The Liberties that were taken in the *Constable* of *Naples*'s *Palace*, had indeed disgusted the *Romans* much at that Freedom, which had no Bounds. But the *Dutchess* of *Bracciano*, that is a *French Woman*,

man, hath by the Exactness of her Deportment, amidst all the Freedoms of a noble Conversation, recover'd in a great Measure the Credit of those Liberties that *Ladies* beyond the Mountains practise with all the Strictness of Virtue; for she receiveth Visits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms; and by the Liveliness of her Conversation, maketh, that her Court is the pleasantest Assembly of Strangers that is to be found in any of the *Palaces* of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not engage in a Description of *Rome*, either ancient or modern, this hath been done so oft, and with so much Exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been already publish'd. It is certain, that when one is in the *Capitol*, and sees those poor Rems of what once it was, he is surpris'd to see a Building of so great a Fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it was once a *Castle*, situated upon a Hill, able to hold out against a Siege of the *Gauls*: The *Tarpeian* Rocks is now of so small a Fall, that a Man would think it no great Matter, for his Diversion, to leap over it; and the Shape of the Ground hath not been so much alter'd on one Side, as to make us think it very much changed on the other. For *Severus's* Triumphal Arch, which is at the Foot of the Hill on one Side, is now bury'd above a Foot within the Ground, as the vast *Amphitheatre* of *Titus* is above three Foot sunk under the Level of the Ground. Within the *Capitol* one sees many noble Remnants of *Antiquity*; but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, than the *Tables of their Consuls*, which are upon the *Walls*; and the *Inscription* on the *Columna Rostrata* in the Time of the *Punick War*, is, without doubt, the most valuable *Antiquity* in *Rome*. From this all along the sacred Way, one findeth such Remnants of *Old Rome* in the Ruins of the *Temples*, in the *Triumphal Arches*, in the *Portico's*, and other Remains of that glorious Body, that as one cannot see these too often, so every Time one sees them, they kindle in him vast

Ideas of that *Republick*, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his Youth with great Pleasure. From the Height of the Convent of *Arceli*, a Man hath a full View of all the Extent of *Rome*; but literally it is now *seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the Parts of the City that were most inhabited anciently, are those that are now laid in great *Gardens*, or, as they call them, *Vineyards*, of which some are half a Mile in Compass. The Vastness of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury, is that which passeth Imagination; the prodigious *Amphitheatre* of *Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand Spectators; the great Extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the *Vaults* where the *Waters* were reserved that furnish'd *Titus's* Baths; and above all, *Dioclesian's* Baths, tho' built when the Empire was in its Decay, are so far above all *Modern* Buildings, that there is not so much as room for a Comparison. The Extent of those *Baths* is above half a Mile in Compass: The Vastness of the *Rooms* in which the *Bathers* might swim, of which the *Carthusians Church*, that yet remains entire, is one, and the many great *Pillars*, all of one *Stone* of *Marble*, beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their *Temples*, and of the *Portico's* before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the *Fabrick* without looketh as mean, being only *Brick*, as the *Architecture* is bold; for it riseth up in a *Vault*, and yet at the Top there is an open left of thirty Foot in Diameter, which, as it is the only *Window* of the *Church*, so it filleth it with *Light*, and is the hardest Piece of *Architectura* that ever was made. The *Pillars* of the *Portico* are also the noblest in *Rome*; they are the highest and biggest that one shall see any where all of one *Stone*; and the Numbers of those ancient *Pillars*, with which not only many of the *Churches* are beautified, chiefly *St. Mary Maggiore*, and *St. John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private Houses are adorn'd, and of the *Fragments* of which there

are such Multitudes in all the Streets of Rome, giveth a great Idea of the Expensiveness of the old Romans in their Buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of those Pillars must have cost more than whole Palaces do now, since most of them were brought from Greece. Many of these Pillars are of Porphyry, others of Jasp, others of granated Marble, but the greatest Number is of white Marble. The two Columns, Trajan's and Antonin's, the two Horses that are in Mount Cavallo, and the other two Horses in the Capitol, which have not indeed the Postures and Motion of the other: The Brass Horse, that, as is believed, carrieth Marcus Aurelius: The Remains of Nero's Calossus: The Temple of Bacchus near the Catacombs of St. Agnes, which is the intirest and the least altered of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace, those of the Sun and Moon, that of Romulus and Remus, (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick, is now left; for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a Place, that when Rome grew so costly it could not have been let alone unchanged; if it had not been that it was revered for its Antiquity) the many other Portico's, the Arches of Severus, of Titus, and Constantine, in the last of which one sees that the Sculpture of his Age was much sunk from what it had been, only in the Top thereof are some Bas Reliefs, that are clearly of a much ancienter Time, and of a better Manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all Hands, and run over a vast Distance, are things which a Man cannot see often enough, if he would form in himself a just Idea of the Vastness of that Republick, or rather Empire. There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great Value, dug up in all the Quarters of Rome these last hundred and fourscore Years, since Pope Leo the tenth's Time; who, as he was the greatest Patron of Learning and Arts that perhaps ever was, so he was the generousest Prince that ever reign'd; and it was he that first set on Foot the inquiring

quiring into the Riches of *Old Rome*, that lay in his Time, for the most part hid under Ground; and indeed if he had been less scandalous in his *Impiety* and *Atheism*, of which neither he nor his Court were so much as ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated Persons of any Age. Soon after him *Pope Paul the III.* gave the Ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his Family: But I was told, that this large Piece of Ground, in which one should look for the greatest Collection of the *Antiquities* of the highest Value, since this is the Ruin of the *Palace* of the *Roman Emperors*, hath never been yet searched into with any Exactness: So that when a curious *Prince* cometh, that is willing to imploy many Hands in digging up and down this *Hill*, we may expect new Scenes of *Roman Antiquities*. But all this Matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named these things, because I can add nothing to those copious Descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing of the *modern Palaces*, or the Ornaments of them, either in *Pictures* or *Statues*, which are things that carry one so far, that it is not ealie to give Bounds to the Descriptions into which one findeth himself carried when he once enters upon so fruitful a Subject. The Number of the *Palaces* is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the Attention of a *Traveller*, till a new one drives the former out of his Thoughts: It is true, the *Palestrina*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese*, have somewhat in them that leave an Impression which no new Objects can wear out; and as the last hath a noble *Square* before it, with two great *Fountains* in it, so the *Statue* of *Hercules* and the *Bull*, that are below, and the *Gallery* above *Stairs*, are unvaluable: The *Roof* of the *Gallery* is one of the best Pieces of *Painting* that is extant, being all of *Carraccio's* Hand; and there are in that *Gallery* the greatest Number of *Heads* of the *Greek Philosophers* and *Poets* that I ever saw together: That of *Homer* and that of *Socrates* were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter, which

as it is, without Dispute, a true *Antick*, so it carrieth in it all the Characters that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*; the flat *Nose*, the broad *Face*, the Simplicity of *Look*, and the mean *Appearance* which that great *Philosopher* made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the Wonders of the *Bull*, which is indeed a *Rock of Marble*, cut out into a whole *Scene of Statues*; but as the *History* of it is not well known, so there are such Faults in the *Sculpture*, that tho' it is all extream fine, yet one seeth it hath not the Exactness of the best Times. As for the *Churches* and *Convents* of *Rome*, as the Number, the Vastness, the Riches both of the *Fabrick*, *Furniture*, *Painting* and other *Ornaments* amaze one, so here again a Stranger is lost; and the *Convent* that one seeth last, is always the most admired; I confess, the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the *Inquisition* sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible Impression upon one that passeth at *Rome* for an *Heretick*, tho' except one committeth great Follies, he is in no Danger there; and the Poverty that reigns in that *City* maketh them find their Interest so much in using *Strangers* well, whatsoever their *Religion* may be, that no Man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary Reason to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the Liberty that I had taken to write my Thoughts freely both of the *Church* and *See* of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest Civilities possible among all sorts of People, and in particular both among the *English* and *Scotish Jesuits*, though they knew well enough that I was no Friend to their Order.

In the *Gallery* of the *English Jesuits*, among the *Pictures* of their *Martyrs*, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that Name is so well known, that they would not expose a *Picture* with such a Name on it, to all *Strangers*; yet *Oldcorn*, being a Name less

less known, is hung there among their *Martyrs*, tho' he was as clearly convicted of the *Gun-powder Treason* as the other was: And it seemed a little strange to me, to see, that at a Time, in which, for other Reasons, the *Writers* of that *Communion* have not thought fit to deny the Truth of that *Conspiracy*, a *Jesuit* convicted of the blackest Crime that ever was projected; should be reckoned among their *Martyrs*. I saw likewise there the Original of those *Emblematical Prophecies*, relating to *England*, that the *Jesuits* have had at *Rome* near sixty Years, and of which I had some Time ago procured a Copy: So I found my Copy was true. I happen'd to be at *Rome* during *St. Gregory's Fair and Feast*, which lasted several Days. In his Church the *Hostie* was exposed; and from that, all that came thither went to the *Chapel*, that was once his House, in which his *Statue* and the *Table*, where he served the Poor, are preserved: I saw such vast Numbers of People there, that one would have thought all *Rome* was got together. They all kneeled down to his *Statue*, and after a Prayer said to it, they kissed his Foot, and every one toucheth the *Table* with his *Beads*, as hoping to draw some Virtue from it. I will add nothing of the several *Obelisks* and *Pillars* that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated *Chapels* that are in some of the great Churches, in particular those of *Sixtus* the V. and *Paul* the V. in *Santa Maria Maggiore*, of the *Water-works* in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the *Vineyards*; nor will I go out of *Rome* to describe *Frescati*, (for *Tivoli* I did not see.) The young *Prince Borghese*, who is indeed one of the Glories of *Rome*, as well for his Learning as for his Virtue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those two learned *Abbots*, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a Magnificence that became him better to give, than me to receive. The *Water-works* in the *Aldobrandin Palace* have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in *France*, the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the *Thunders* and *Storms* that this maketh

maketh is noble: The *Water-works* of the *Ludoviso*, and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewise a Greatness in them that is natural; and indeed, the *Riches* that one meets with in all Places within Doors in *Italy*, and the *Poverty* that one seeth every where abroad, are the most unsuitable Things imaginable: But it is very likely, that a great Part of their moveable Wealth will be ere long carried into *France*; for as soon as any *Picture* or *Statue* of great Value is offered to be sold, those that are employed by the King of *France* do presently buy it up, so that as that King hath already the greatest Collection of *Pictures* that is in *Europe*, he will very probably, in a few Years more, bring together the chief *Treasures* of *Italy*.

I have now given you an Account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in *Rome*. I shall to this add a very extraordinary Piece of *Natural History* that fell out there within these two Years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by *Cardinal Howard*, who was one of the *Congregation* of *Cardinals* that examined and judged the Matter. There were two *Nuns* near *Rome*, one as I remember was in the *City*, and the other not far from it, who after they had been for some Years in a *Nunnery*, perceived a very strange Change in Nature, and that their *Sex* was altered, which grew by some Degrees to a total Alteration in one; and tho' the other was not so intire a Change, yet it was visible she was more *Man* than *Woman*; upon this the Matter was looked into. That which naturally offereth it self here, is, that these two had been always what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a *Nunnery* in a *Disguise*, to gratifie a brutal Appetite. But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, that as the *Breasts* of a *Woman*, that remained still, did in a great Measure shake off that Objection, so the *Proofs* were given so fully of their having been

real Females, that there was no Doubt left of that; nor had they given any sort of Scandal in the Change of their Sex: And if there had been any Room left to suspect a Cheat or Disguise, the Proceedings would have been both more severe and more secret; and these Persons would have been burnt, or at least put to death in some terrible manner. Some Physicians and Chirurgions were appointed to examine the Matter, and at last, after a long and exact Inquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their Vows, and were dismissed from the Obligation of a Religious Life, and required to go in Mens Habit. One of them was a Valet de Chambre to a Roman Marquess when I was there. I heard of this Matter only two Days before I left Rome, so that I had not Time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to so curious an Inquirer in to Nature.

And since I am upon the Subject of the Changes that have been made in Nature, I shall add one of another sort, that I examined while I was at Genoa: There is a Minister of St. Gerovais, Mr. Gody, who hath a Daughter that is now fifteen Years old; her Nurse had an extraordinary Thickness of Hearing; at a Year old, the Child spoke all those little Words that Children begin usually to learn at that Age; but she made no Progress; yet this was not observed, till it was too late. And as she grew to be two Years old, they perceived then that she had lost her Hearing, and was so deaf that ever since she hears great Noise, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems, while the Milk of her Nurse was more abundant, and that the Child suck'd more moderately the first Year, those Humours in the Blood and Milk had not that Effect on her that appeared after she came to suck more violently: And that her Nurse's Milk being in less Quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occasioned the Deafness. But this Child hath

bath, by observing the *Motions* of the *Mouth* and *Lips* of others, acquired so many *Words*, that out of these she hath formed a Sort *Jargon*, in which she can hold *Conversation* whole *Days* with those that can speak her own *Language*. I could understand some of her *Words*, but could not comprehend a *Period*; for it seemed to be a confused *Noise*. She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she seeth the *Motion* of their *Mouths* that speak to her; so that in the *Night*, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a *Candle*: Only one Thing appeared the strangest Part of the whole *Narration*; she hath a *Sister*, with whom she has practised her *Language* more than with any other; and in the *Night*, by laying her *Hand* on her *Sister's Mouth*, she can perceive by that what she says, and so can *Discourse* in the *Night*. It is true, her *Mother* told me, that this did not go far, and that she found out only some short *Period* in this Manner, but it did not hold out very long. Thus this young *Woman*, without any Pains taken on her, hath merely by a natural *Sagacity*, found out a *Method* of holding *Discourse*, that doth in a great Measure lessen the *Misery* of her *Deafness*. I examined this Matter critically; but only the *Sister* was not present, so that I could not see how the *Conversation* pass between them in the *Dark*.

But before I give over writing concerning *Rome*, I cannot hinder my self, from giving you an Account of a *Conversation* that I had with one of the most celebrated Persons that lives in it: I was talking concerning the Credit that the *Order* of the *Jesuits* had every where: It was said, that all the *World* mistrusted them, and yet by a strange Sort of *Contradiction*, all the *World* trusted them; and tho' it was well known that every *Jesuit* was truer to the *Interests* of his *Order* than he would be to the *Interests* of any *Prince* whatsoever, yet those *Princes* that would be very careful not to suffer *Spies* to come into their *Courts*, or into their *Councils*, suffered those *Spies* to come into their *Breasts* and *Con-*
sciences:

sciences: And tho' *Princes* were not generally very tender in those Parts, yet as they had often as much *Guilt*, so they had sometimes as much *Fear* as other People, which a dextrous *Spie* knew well how to manage. Upon which, that Person that pretended to be a zealous *Catholick*, added, that for their Part, they considered only the *Character* that the *Church* gave to a *Priest*; and if the *Church* qualified him to do the Functions of a *Priest*, they thought it very needless to inquire after other personal Qualities, which were but common Things, whereas the other was all Divine. On the contrary, they thought it was so much the better to have to do with a poor ignorant *Priest*; for then they had to do only with the *Church*, and not with the *Man*. Pursuant to this, that Person's *Confessor* was the greatest, and the most notorious Blockhead that could be found; and when they were asked, why they made use of so weak *Man*? they answered, because they could not find a weaker: And when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a *Groom* or a *Footman* that got into *Priest's Orders*, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask Counsel of a Friend; but they knew no other Use of a *Confessor*, but to confess to him, and to receive *Absolution* from him: And in so doing, they pretended they acted as became a true *Catholick*, that considered only the Power of the *Church* in the *Priest*, without regarding any Thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the short Ramble that I made, which was too short to deserve the Name of *Travelling*, and therefore the *Inquiries* or *Observations* that I could make, must be received with the Abatement that ought to be made for so short a Stay; and all will be of a Piece, when the *Remarks* are as slight as the *Abode* I made in the Places thro' which I past was short. As I have avoided the troubling you with Things that are commonly known, so if I have not entertained you with a long Recital of ordinary Matters, yet I have told

you nothing but what I saw and knew to be true, or that I had from such Hands, that I have very good Reason to believe it: And I fancy that the Things which made the greatest Impression on my self, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many Accounts, I owe all the Expressions of Esteem and Gratitude that I can ever pay, so I had a more particular Reason, that determined me to give you so full an Account of all I saw and observed; for as you were pleased at parting to do me the Honour, to desire me to communicate to you such Things as appeared most remarkable to me, so I found such a vast Advantage in many Places, but more particularly at *Venice*, *Rome* and *Naples*, by the Happiness I have of being known to you, and of being so far considered by you, that I could give a copious Account both of your *Person* and *Studies*, to those in whom your curious *Discoveries* had kindled that Esteem for you which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal *Inquiries* into *Nature*, which are among the peculiar Blessings of this *Age*; and that are read with no less Care and Pleasure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was so well received, that I found the great Advantage of this Honour I did my self in assuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends; and I owe a great Part of that Distinction which I met with, to this favourable *Character* that I gave my self; so that if I made any Progress in the *Inquiries* that so short a Stay could enable one to make, I owe it in so peculiar a Manner to you, that this Return that I make, is but a very small Part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last Moment of my Life.

A Letter

A Letter from NIMMEGEN.

S I R,

I Thought I had made so full a *Point* at the Conclusion of my last *Letter*, that I should not have given you the Trouble of reading any more *Letters* of the Volume of the former: But new Scenes, and new Matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three Hours reading.

From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marseilles*, where if there were a *Road* as safe as the *Harbour* is covered; and if the *Harbour* were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the most important Places in the World: All is so well defended, that it is with Respect either to Storms or Enemies, the securest *Port* that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this Place, tho' it is not at the Mercy of the *Citadel*, are such, and its Situation draweth so much *Trade* to it, that there one seeth another Appearance of *Wealth*, than I found in any Town of *France*; and there is a new *Street* lately built there, that for the Beauty of the Buildings, and the Largeness of the *Street*, is the noblest I ever saw. There is in that *Port* a perpetual Heat, and the Sun was so strong in the *Christmas-week*, that I was often driven off the Key. I made a *Tour* from thence thro' *Provence*, *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no Account of *Nismes*, nor of the *Amphitheatre* in it, or the *Pont du Gar* near it, which as they are stupendious Things, so they are copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the *English Nation*, that if you have never gone that Way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a Relation of them from those

that have seen them on their Way to *Montpelier*, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any Thing of the *Soil*, the *Towns*, or any other remarkable Things that I found there.

I have much stronger Inclination to say somewhat concerning the *Persecution* which I saw in its *Rage* and utmost *Fury*; and of which I could give you many *Instances* that are so much beyond all the common Measures of *Barbarity* and *Cruelty*, that I confess that they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive Proofs of them than are fitting now to be brought forth: And the *Particulars* that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary Circumstances of *Time*, *Place* and *Persons*, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in the Power of their Enemies, that my Regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in any *Age* there was such a *Violation* of all that is *sacred*, either with Relation to *God* or *Man*; and what I saw and knew there, from the first Hand, hath so confirmed all the *Ideas* that I had taken from *Books* of the *Cruelty* of that *Religion*, that I hope the Impression that this hath made upon me shall never end but with my Life. The *Applauses* that the whole *Clergy* give to this Way of Proceeding, the many *Panegyricks* that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are Numbers writ by smaller *Authors* in every Town of any Note there; and the *Sermons* that are all Flights of Flattery upon this Subject, are such evident Demonstrations of their Sense of this Matter, that what is now on foot may be termed, *The Act of the whole Clergy of France*, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate Part of the *Roman Communion*. If any are more moderate than others, and have not so far laid off the humane Nature, as to go in intirely into those bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret as if it were half *Treason*: But for the greater Part they

do not only magnifie all that is done ; but they animate even the *Dragoons* to higher Degrees of *Rage* ; and there was such a *Heat* spread over all the *Country* on this Occasion, that one could not go into any *Ordinary*, or mix in any promiscuous Conversation, without finding such Effects of it, that it was not easie for such as were touch'd with the least Degree of Compassion for the *Miseries* that the poor *Protestants* suffered, to be a Witness to the *Insultings* that they must meet with in all Places. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved of in *Italy*, and it is true, there were not any publick *Rejoycings* upon it at *Rome* ; no *Indulgences* nor *Te Deums* were heard of : And the *Spanish Faction* being so prevalent there, it is not strange if a Course of Proceedings, that is without an Example, was set forth by all that were of that *Interest*, in its proper Colours ; of which I met with some Instances my self, and could not but smile, to see some of the *Spanish Faction* so far to forget their *Courts of Inquisition*, as to argue against the *Conversions* by the *Dragoons*, as a Reproach to the *Catholick Religion*. Yet the *Pope* was of another Mind ; for the *Duke d' Estrées* gave him an Account of the *King's Proceedings* in this Matter very copiously, as he himself related it ; upon which the *Pope* approved all, and expressed a great Satisfaction in every Thing that the *King* had done in that Matter ; and the *Pope* added, that he found some *Cardinals* (as I remember the *Duke d' Estrées* said two) were not pleased with it, and had taken the Liberty to censure it ; but the *Pope* said, they were to blame. The *Duke d' Estrées* did not name the two *Cardinals*, tho' he said, he believed he knew who they were ; and it is very like that *Cardinal Pio* was one ; for I was told, that he spoke freely enough of this Matter. I must take the Liberty to add one Thing to you, that I do not see the *French King* is to be so much blamed in this Matter as his *Religion* is, which, without Question, obligeth him

him to extirpate *Hereticks*, and not to keep his *Faith* to them; so that instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a *Religion* that doth certainly oblige him to *divest* himself of *Humanity*, and to *violate* his *Faith*, whensoever the Cause of his *Church* and *Religion* requireth it: Or if there is any thing in this Conduct that cannot be entirely justified from the *Principles* of that *Religion*, it is this, that he doth not put the *Hereticks* to death out of *Hand*, but that he forceth them, by all the *Extremities* possible, to sign an *Abjuration*, that all the *World* must needs see, is done against their *Consciences*: And this being the only End of their *Miseries*, those that would think any sort of *Death* a happy Conclusion of their *Sufferings*, seeing no Prospect of such a glorious Issue out of their *Trouble*, are prevailed on by the many *lingering Deaths*, of which they see no End, to make Shipwreck of the *Faith*. This Appearance of *Mercy*, in not putting Men to death, doth truly verify the *Character* that *Solomon* giveth of the tender *Mercies* of the *Wicked*, that they are *Cruel*.

But I will stop here, tho' it is not easy to retire from so copious a Subject, that as it affordeth so much Matter, so upon many Accounts, it raiseth a Heat of Thought that is not easily govern'd. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth less Passion.

I pass'd the *Winter* at *Geneva* with more Satisfaction than I had thought it possible for me to have found any where out of *England*; tho' that receiv'd great Allays from the most lamentable Stories that we had every Day from *France*: But there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better. I ought to make the most publick Acknowledgments possible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met with in my own particular; but that is too low a Subject to entertain you with it. That which pleased me most, was of a more publick Nature; before I left *Geneva*, the Number of *English* there was such, that I found we could make a small Congregation; for we were twelve

or fourteen; so I address'd my self to the Council of Twenty-five, for Liberty to have our own Worship in our own Language, according to the *English Liturgy*. This was immediately granted in so obliging a manner, that as there was not one Person that made any Exception to it, so they sent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in case our Number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a *Church*, they would grant us one, which had been done in *Queen Mary's* Reign; but till then we might hold our *Assemblies* as we thought fit. So after that Time, during the rest of my stay there, we had every *Sunday* our *Devotions* according to the *Common-Prayer*, Morning and Evening; and at the *Evening-Prayer*, I preach'd in a *Room* that was indeed too large for our small Company; but there being a considerable Number in *Geneva* that understand *English*, and in particular some of the *Professors* and *Ministers*, we had a great many *Strangers* that met with us; and the last *Sunday* I gave the *Sacrament* according to the way of the *Church of England*; and upon this Occasion I found a general Joy in the *Town*, for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expressing the Respect they had for our *Church*. And as in their publick Prayers they always pray'd for the *Churches* of *Great-Britain*, as well as for the *King*, so in private Discourse they shew'd all possible Esteem for our *Constitutions*; and they spoke of the unhappy *Divisions* among us, and of the *Separation* that was made from us upon the Account of our *Government* and *Ceremonies*, with great Regret and Dislike. I shall name to you only two of their *Professors*, that as they are Men of great Distinction, so they were the Persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is *Mr. Turretin*, a Man of great Learning, that by his indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and wasted his Strength: Amidst all the Affluence of a great Plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one discerns in him all the Modesty of an humble and mortified Temper, and

and of an active and fervent Charity, proportion'd to his Abundance, or rather beyond it: And there is in him such a melting Zeal for Religion as the present Conjunction calls for, with all the Seriouſness of Piety and Devotion, which shews itself both in private Conversation and in his most edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Conſciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. Tronchin, a Man of a strong Head, and of a clear correct Judgment, who has all his Thoughts well digested: His Conversation has an engaging Charm in it that cannot be resisted: He is a Man of extraordinary Virtue, and of a Readiness to oblige and serve all Persons, that has scarce any Measures: His Sermons have a Sublimity in them, that strikes the Hearer, as well as it edifies him: His Thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is masculine and exact, and has all the Majesty of the Chair in it, temper'd with all the Softness of Persuasion, so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues them, and triumphs over them. In such Company, it was no Wonder if Time seem'd to go off too fast, so that I left Geneva with a Concern that I could not have felt in leaving any Place out of the Isle of Britain.

From Geneva, I went a second Time thro' Switzerland to Basil: At *Avanche* I saw the noble Fragments of a great Roman Work, which seems to have been the *Portico* to some Temple: The Heads of the Pillars are about four Foot square, of the *Ionick Order*; the Temple hath been dedicated to *Neptune* or some Sea-God; for on the Fragments of the *Architecture*, which are very beautiful, there are *Dolphins* and *Sea-Horses* in Bas Reliefs; and the Neighbourhood of the Place to the Lakes of *Iverdun* and *Morat* maketh this more Evident: There is also a Pillar standing up in its full Height, or rather the Corner of a Building, in which one seeth the Rests of a regular *Architecture* in two Ranks of Pillars. If the Ground near this were carefully search'd, no doubt it would discover more Rests of that Fabrick.

Not

Not far from this is *Morat*; and a little on this Side of it is a *Chapel*, full of the Bones of the *Burgundians* that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this Place was besieged by the famous *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, who lost a great *Army* before it, that was entirely cut off by the besieged; the *Inscription* is very extraordinary, especially for that Age; for the Bones being so piled up, that the *Chapel* is quite filled with them, the *Inscription* bears, that *Charles Duke of Burgundy's Army* having besieged *Morat*, *Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit, had left that Monument behind it*. It cannot but seem strange to one that views *Morat*, to imagine how it was possible for a Town so situated, and so slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerful a *Prince*, and so great an *Army*, that brought *Canon* before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Basil*, except that I stay'd some Time at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this second Time it was, that my Lord Advoyer *d'Erlack* gave Order to shew me the *Original Records* of the famous *Process* of the *four Dominicans*; upon which I have retouch'd the *Letter* that I writ to you last Year, so that I now send it to you with the *Corrections* and *Inlargments* that this second stay at *Bern* gave me Occasion to make.

Basil is the Town of the greatest Extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its Extent. The *Rhine* maketh a Crook before it; and the Town is situated on a rising Ground, which hath a noble Effect on the Eye when one is on the *Bridge*; for it looketh like a *Theatre*. Little *Basil*, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, is almost a fourth Part of the whole: The Town is surrounded with a Wall and Ditch; but it is so exposed on so many Sides, and hath now so dreadful a *Neighbour* within a Quarter of a League of it, the *Fort of Hunningen*, that it hath nothing to trust to, humanly speaking; but its *Union* with the other *Cantons*. The *Maxims* of this *Canton* have hindred its being better peopled than it is; the *Advantages* of the *Burgenship*

are such, that the *Citizens* will not share them with *Strangers*, and by this means they do not admit them. For I was told, during the last War, that *Alsacia* was so often the Seat of both *Armies*, *Basil* having then a *Neutrality*, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim. And it were a great Happiness to all the *Cantons*, if they could have different *Degrees* of *Burghership*, so that the lower *Degrees* might be given to *Strangers* for their Incouragment to come and live among them; and the higher *Degrees*, which qualify Men for the advantageous Employments of the *State*, might be reserved for the ancient *Families* of the *Natives*. *Basil* is divided into sixteen *Companies*, and every one of these hath four *Members* in the little *Council*, so that it consisteth of sixty four; but of those four, two are chosen by the *Company* it self, who are called the *Masters*, and the other two are chosen by the *Council* out of the *Company*; and thus as there are two sorts of *Counsellors*, chosen in those different Manners, there are also two chief *Magistrates*. There are two *Burgher-Masters*, that reign by Turns, and two *Zunft-Masters*, that have also their Turns, and all is for Life; and the last are the *Heads* of the *Companies*, like the *Romans Tribunes* of the *People*. The *Fabrick* of the *State-House* is Ancient: There is very good *Painting* in *Fresco* upon the Walls: One Piece hath given much Offence to the *Papists*, tho' they have no Reason to blame the *Reformation* for it, since it was done several Years before it, in the Year 1510. It is a Representation of the Day of *Judgment*, and after Sentence given, the *Devil* is represented driving many before him to *Hell*, and among these there is a *Pope* and several *Ecclesiasticks*. But it is believed, that the *Council*, which sat so long in this Place, acting so vigorously against the *Pope*, engaged the *Town* into such a Hatred of the *Papacy*, that this might give the Rise to this Representation. The most learned in the *Town* ascribe the Beginning of the Custom in *Basil* of the *Clocks* anticipating the Time

full Hour, to the sitting of the *Council*, and they say, that in order to the advancing of Business, and the shortning their *Sessions*, they ordered their *Clocks* to be set forward an Hour, which continueth to this Day. The *Cathedral* is a great old *Gothick* Building: The *Chamber* where the *Council* sat is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room: *Erasmus's* Tomb is only a plain *Inscription* upon a great *Brass* Plate: There are many of *Holbens's* *Pictures* here, who was a Native of *Basil*, and was recommended by *Erasmus* to *King Henry* the VII. the two best are a *Corpo*, or *Christ dead*, which is certainly one of the best *Pictures* in the World: There is another Piece of his in the *Stadt-House* (for this is in the publick *Library*) of about three or four Foot square, in which, in six several *Cantons*, the several Parts of our *Saviour's* *Passion* are represented with a Life and Beauty that cannot be enough admired; it is valued at ten thousand *Crowns*; it is on *Wood*, but hath that Freshness of Colour still on it, that seems particular to *Holbens's* *Pencil*: There is also a *Dance*, that he painted on the *Walls* of an *House*, where he used to drink, that is so worn out, that very little is now to be seen except *Shapes* and *Postures*; but these shew the *Exquiteness* of the Hand: There is another longer *Dance*, that runneth all along the Side of the *Convent* of the *Augustinians*, which is now the *French Church*, which is *Death's Dance*; there are above threescore *Figures* in it at full Length, of *Persons* of all Ranks, from *Papes*, *Emperors*, and *Kings*, down to the meanest sorts of *People*, and of all Ages and Professions, to whom *Death* appeareth in an insolent and surprizing Posture; and the several *Passions* that they express are so well set out, that this was certainly a great Design. But the *Fresco* being exposed to the *Air*, this was so worn out some Time ago, that they order'd the best *Painter* they had to lay new Colours on it; but this is so ill done, that one had rather see the dead Shadows of *Holbens's* *Pencil*, than this coarse Work. There is in *Basil* a

Gun-Smith, that maketh *Wind-Guns*, and he shewed me one, that as it received at once *Air* for ten *shot*, so it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own Invention, that he can discharge all the *Air* that can be parcell'd out in ten *shot* at once, to give a home Blow. I confess those are terrible Instruments, and it seems the Interest of Mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be employed to assassinate Persons so dextrously, that neither Noise nor Fire will discover from what Hand the Shot cometh. The *Library* of *Basil* is by much the best in all *Switzerland*, there is a fine Collection of *Medals* in it, and a very Handsome *Library* of *Manuscripts*; the Room is noble, and disposed in a very good Method. Their *Manuscripts* are chiefly the *Latin Fathers*, or *Latin Translations* of the *Greek Fathers*, and some good *Bibles*; they have the *Gospel* in *Greek Capitals*, but they are viciously writ in many Places: There is an infinite Number of the *Writers* of the darker Ages, and there are *Legends* and *Sermons* without Number. All the Books that were in the several *Monasteries*, at the Time of the *Reformation*, were carefully preserv'd; and they believe, that the *Bishops*, who sat here in the *Council*, brought with them a great many *Manuscripts* which they never carried away. Among their *Manuscripts*, I saw four of *Huss's* Letters, that he writ to the *Bohemians* the Day before his Death, which are very devout, but excessively simple. The *Manuscripts* of this *Library* are far more numerous than those of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarsius*, and left by him to the publick *Library* there: They are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that ever I saw: But it is a noble Collection of all the ancient *Latin Authors*: They have some few of the best of the *Roman Time*, writ in great *Characters*, and there are many that are seven or eight hundred *Years* old. There is in *Basil* one of the best Collections of *Medals* that ever I saw in private Hands; together with a noble *Library*, in which there are *Manuscripts* of good Antiquity,

that

that belongs to the *Family of Fesch*, and that goeth from one learned Man of the Family to another; for this *Inheritance* can only pass to a Man of Learning, and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the *Publick*. In *Basil*, as the several *Companies* have been more or less strict in admitting some to a Freedom in the *Company* that have not been of the *Trade*, so they retain their *Privileges* to this Day; for in such *Companies* that have once received such a Number that have not been of the *Trade* as grew to be the Majority, the *Trade* hath never been able to recover their *Interest*. But some *Companies* have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but those that were of the *Trade*, so that they retain their *Interest* still in *Government*. Of these the *Butchers* were named for one, so that there are always four *Butchers* in the *Council*: The great *Council* consisteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary Occasions, when the *little Council* thinketh fit to communicate any important Matter to them. There are but six *Bailiages* that belong to *Basil* which are not *Employments* of great Advantage, for the best of them doth afford to the *Bailiff* only a thousand *Livres* a Year. They reckon that there are in *Basil* three thousand Men that can bear *Arms*, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the *Canton*, so that the *Town* is almost the half of this *State*, and the whole maketh thirty *Parishes*. There are eighteen *Professors* in this *University*; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous *Learning* stirring there than I saw in all those Parts. There is a great Decency of *Habit* in *Basil*, and the *Garb* both of the *Counsellors*, *Ministers* and *Professors*, their *stiff Ruffs*, and their *long Beards*, have an Air that is august: The *Appointments* are but small, for *Counsellors*, *Ministers* and *Professors*, have but a hundred *Crowns* apiece: It is true, many *Ministers* are *Professors*, so this mendeth the Matter a little: But perhaps it would go better with the *State* of Learning

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Learning there, if they had but half the Number of *Professors*, and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the Rule of *St. Paul*, [of *Womens* having on their Heads the Badge of the Authority under which they are brought, which by a Phrase that is not extraordinary, he calleth *Power*,] better observed than at *Basil*; for all the married *Women* go to Church with a *Coif* on their Heads, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their *Eyes*, so another folding covereth also their *Mouth* and *Chin*, so that nothing but the *Nose* appears, and then all turns backwark in a folding, that hangeth down to their Mid-leg. This is always *white*; so that there is such a Sight of *white Heads* in their Churches, as cannot be found any where else. The *unmarried Women* wear *Hats*, turned up in the Brims before and behind; and the Brims of the Sides being about a Foot broad, stand out far on both Hands: This Fashion is also at *Strasburgh*, and is worn there also by the married *Women*.

I mentioned formerly the constant Danger to which this Place is exposed from the Neighbourhood of *Hunningen*: I was told, that at first it was pretended, that the *French King* intended to build only a small *Fort* there, and it was believed, that one of the *Burgomasters* of *Basil*, who was thought not only the wisest Man of that *Canton*, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all Men asleep, and to assure them, that the suffering this *Fort* to be built so near them was of no Importance to them; but now they see too late their fatal Error. For the Place is great, and will hold a *Garrison* of three or four thousand Men; it is a *Pentagon*, only the Side to the *Rhine* is so large, that if it went round on that Side, I believe it must have been a *Hexagon*; The *Bastions* have all *Orillons*, and in the Middle of them there is a void Space not filled up with Earth, where there is a *Magazine* built so thick in the *Vault*, that it is Proof against *Bombs*: The *Ramparts* are strong;

ly faced; there is a large *Ditch*, and before the *Cor-tine*, in the Middle of the *Ditch*, there runs all along a *Horn-work*, which is but ten or twelve Foot high; and from the Bottom of the *Rampart*, there goeth a *Vault* to this *Horn-work*, that is for conveying of Men for its Defence: Before this *Horn-work*, there is a *Half-moon*, with this that is peculiar to those new *Fortifications*, that there is a *Ditch* that cuts the *Half-moon* in an *Angle*, and maketh one *Half-moon* within another; beyond that there is a *Counter-scarp*, about twelve Foot high above the *Water*, with a *Covered-way*, and a *Glacis* designed, tho' not executed: There is also a great *Horn-work* besides all this, which runs out a huge Way with its *Out-works* towards *Basil*: There is also a *Bridge* laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an *Island* in the *River*, where the *Bridge* is laid, there is a *Horn-work* that filleth and fortieth it. The Buildings in this *Fort* are beautiful, and the *Square* can hold above four thousand Men. The *Works* are not yet quite finished; but when all is compleated, this will be one of the strongest Places in *Europe*. There is a *Cavalier* on one or two of the *Bastions*, and there are *Half-moons* before the *Bastions*, so that the *Switzers* see their Danger now, when it is not easie to redress it. This Place is situated in a great *Plain*, so that it is commanded by no rising Ground on any Side of it. I made a little *Tour* into *Alsace*, as far as *Mountbeliard*; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath been so long a *Frontier Country*, and is, by Consequence, so ill peopled, that it is in many Places over-grown with Woods: In one Respect it is fit to be the Seat of *War*, for it is full of *Iron-Works*, which bring a great deal of *Money* into the *Country*. I saw nothing peculiar in the *Iron-works* there, (except that the Sides of the great *Bellows* were not of *Leather*, but of *Wood*, which saves much *Money*;) so I will not stand to describe them. The *River* of the *Rhine*, all from *Basil* to *Spire*, is so low, and is on both Sides so covered with Woods,

that

that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no Sight of the Country. The River runneth sometimes with such a Force, that nothing but such Woods could preserve its Banks, and even these are not able to save them quite; for the Trees are often washed away by the very Roots, so that in many Places those Trees lie along in the Channel of the River: It hath been also thought a Sort of a Fortification to both Sides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the passing of Men dangerous, when they must march for sometime after their Passage thro' a Defile. The first Night from Basil we came to Brisac, which is a poor miserable Town; but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the West-side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Bastions. The Town of Brisac riseth all on a Hill, which is a considerable Heighth; there were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the other is so well levelled with the Ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was: All the Ground about for many Miles is plain, so that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can see exactly well, especially with the Help of a Prospect, all the Motions of an Enemy in case of a Siege. The Fortification is of a huge Compass, above a French League; indeed almost a German League: The Bastions, are quite filled with Earth, they are faced with Brick, and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water around them: The Counter-scarp, the Covered-way, which hath a Palisade within the Parapet, and the Glacis, are all well executed: There is a Half-moon before every Cortine: The Bastions have no Orillons except one or two, and the Cortines are so disposed, that a good Part of them defendeth the Bastion. The Garrison of this Place in time of War must needs be eight or ten thousand Men. There hath not been much done of late to this Place, only the Ditch is so adjusted, that it is all defended by the Flanks of the Bastions. But the noblest Place on the Rhine is Strasburgh; it is

a Town of a huge Extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it : The inner Wall is old, and of no Strength, nor is the outward Wall very good; it hath a *Faussebraye*, and is faced with Brick twelve or fifteen Foot above the Ditch : The *Counterscarp* is in an ill Condition, so that the Town was not in case to make any long Resistance ; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a *Citadel* built on that Side that goeth towards the *Rhine*, that is much such a Fort as that of *Hunningen*, and on the Side of the *Citadel* towards the *Bridge*, there is a great *Horn-Work*, that runs out a great Way with *Out-works* belonging to it ; there are also small *Forts* at the two chief *Gates* that lead to *Alsace* ; by which the City is so bridled, that these can cut off all its Communication with the Country about, in case of a *Revolt* : The *Bridge* is also well fortified ; there are also *Forts* in some *Islands* in the *Rhine*, and some *Redoubts* : So that all round this Place there is one of the greatest *Fortifications* that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the *Capitulation*, with Relation to *Religion*, hath been well kept, and there is so small a Number of new *Converts*, and these are for the greatest Part so inconsiderable, they not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not employ the *new-fashioned* Missionaries *à la Dragonné*, the *old ones* are not like to have so great a Harvest there as they promised themselves, tho' they are *Jesuits*. The *Lutherans* for the greatest part retain their Animosities almost of an equal Degree both against *Papists* and *Calvinists*. I was in their Church, where if the Musick of their *Psalms* pleased me much, the Irreverence in singing, it being free to keep on, or put off the Hat, did appear very strange to me. The Churches are full of *Pictures*, in which the chief Passages of our Saviour's Life are represented ; but there is no Sort of religious Respect paid them : They bow when they name the Holy Ghost, as well as at the Name of *Jesus* ; but they have not the Ceremonies that the *Lutherans* of

Saxony use, which Mr. Bebel, their Professor of Divinity, said was a great Happiness; for a Similitude in outward Rites might dispose the ignorant People to change too easily. I found several good People both of the *Lutheran Ministers* and others, acknowledge, that there was such a Corruption of Morals spread over the whole City, that as they had justly drawn down on their Heads the Plague of the Loss of their Liberty, so this having touched them so little, they had Reason to look for severer Strokes. One seeth, in the Ruin of this City, what a mischievous Thing the popular Pride of a free City is: They fancied they were able to defend themselves, and so refused to let an *Imperial Garrison* come within their Town; for if they had received only five hundred Men, as that small Number would not have been able to have oppress their Liberties, so it would have so secured the Town, that the *French* could not have besieged it, without making War on the *Empire*: But the Town thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay a *Garrison* of three thousand *Soldiers*, which as it exhausted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, so it proved too weak for their Defence when the *French Army* came before them. The Town begins to sink in its Trade, notwithstanding the great Circulation of Money that the Expence of the *Fortifications* hath brought to it: But when that is at an end, it will sink more sensibly: For it is impossible for a Place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten thousand *Soldiers* in it, to continue long in a flourishing State. There was a great Animosity between two of the chief Families of the Town, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*; the former was the *Burgomaster*, and was once almost run down by a Faction that the other had raised against him: But he turned the Tide, and got such an Advantage against *Obrecht*, who had writ somewhat against the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing *Libels* against the Government.

His Son is a learned Man, and was *Professor* of the civil *Law*; and he to have his Turn of Revenge against *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* last *Summer*, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his *Religion*. *Dietrick* had been always looked on as one of the chief of the *French Faction*, tho' he had been at first an *Imperialist*, so it was thought, that he should have been well rewarded; yet it was expected, that to make himself capable of that he should have changed his *Religion*; but he was an ancient Man, and would not purchase his Court at that Rate: So without any Reason given, and against the express Words of the *Capitulation*, he was confined to one of the midland *Provinces* of *France*, as I remember, it was *Limosin*: And thus he, that hath been thought the chief Cause of this *Town's* falling under the Power of the *French*, is the first Man that hath felt the Effects of it. The *Library* here is considerable: The Case is a great *Room*, very well contrived; for it is divided into *Closets* all over the Body of the *Room*, which runs about these as a *Gallery*, and in these *Closets* all round there are the *Books* of the several *Professions* lodged apart. There is one for *Manuscripts*, in which there are some of considerable *Antiquity*. I need say nothing to you of the vast Height, and the *Gothick Architecture* of the *Steeple* and of the great *Church*, nor of the curious *Clock*, where there is so vast a Variety of *Motions*; for these are well known. The *Bass Reliefs* upon the *Tops* of the great *Pillars* of the *Church* are not so visible; but they are surprizing; for this being a *Fabrick* of three or four hundred *Years* old, it is very strange to see such Representations as are there. There is a *Procession* represented, in which a *Hog* carrieth the *Pot* with the *Holy Water*, and *Asses* and *Hogs* in *Priestly Vestments* follow to make up the *Procession*; there is also an *Ass* standing before an *Altar*, as if he was going to consecrate, and one carrieth a Case with *Relicks*, within which one seeth a *Fox*; and the *Trains* of all that go in this

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Procession, are carried up by *Monks*. This seems to have been made in hatred of the *Monks*, whom the *secular Clergy* abhorred at that Time, because they had drawn the Wealth, and the following of the World after them, and they had exposed the *secular Clergy* so much for their Ignorance, that it is probable after some Ages, the *Monks* falling under the same Contempt, the *secular Clergy* took their Turn in exposing them, in so lasting a Representation, to the Scorn of the World. There is also in the *Pulpit* a *Nun* cut in *Wood*, lying along, and a *Frier* lying near her with his *Breviary* open before him, and his Hand under the *Nun's* Habit, and the *Nun's* Feet are shod with *Iron Shoes*. I confess, I did not look for these Things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble Friend Mr. *Ablancourt* viewed them with great Exactness, while he was the *French King's* Resident at *Strasburgh*, in the Company of one of the *Magistrates* that waited on him; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Particular.

From *Strasburgh* we went down the *Rhine* to *Philipsburgh*, which lieth at a Quarter of a Mile's Distance from the *River*; it is but a small Place; the *Bastions* are but little: There is a *Ravellin* before almost all the *Cortines*, and there lie such *Marshes* all round it, that in these lieth the chief Strength of the Place. The *French* had begun a great *Crown-work* on the Side that lieth to the *Rhine*, and had cast out a *Horn-work* beyond that; but by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue that *Crown-work* quite round the *Town*, and to make a second *Wall* and *Ditch* all round it; which would have enlarg'd the Place vastly, and made a *Compass* capable enough to lodge above ten thousand Men; and this would have been so terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate*, and all *Franconia*, that it was a Masterpiece in *Charles Lewis*, the late *Electo Palatine*, to engage the *Empire* into this *Siege*. He saw well how much it concern'd him

to have it out of the Hands of the *French*, so that he took great Care to have the Duke of *Lorain's* Camp so well supply'd with all things necessary during the *Siege*, that the *Army* lay not under the least Uneasiness all the while. From thence, in three Hours time, we came to *Spire*, which is so naked a *Town*, that if it were attack'd it could not make the least Resistance. The *Town* is neither great nor rich, and subsisteth chiefly by the *Imperial Chamber* that sitteth here, tho' there is a constant Dispute between the *Town* and the *Chamber* concerning *Privileges*; for the Government of the *Town* pretends that the *Judges* of the *Chamber*, as they are private Men, and out of the *Court of Judicature*, are subject to them; and so about a Year ago they put one of the *Judges* in Prison: On the other hand, the *Judges* pretend that their Persons are sacred. It was the Consideration of the *Chamber* that procur'd to the *Town* the *Neutrality* that they enjoy'd all the last *War*. I thought to have seen the Forms of this *Court*, and the Way of laying up and preserving their *Records*, but the *Court* was not then sitting. The *Building*, the *Halls* and *Chambers* of this famous *Court* are mean beyond Imagination, and look liker the *Halls* of some small Company than of so great a Body; and I could not see the Places where they lay up their *Archives*. The Government of the *City* is all *Lutheran*; but not only the *Cathedral* is in the Hands of the *Bishop* and *Chapter*, but there are likewise several *Convents* of both *Sexes*; and the *Jesuits* have also a *College* there. There is little remarkable in the *Cathedral*, which is a huge *Building* in the *Gothick* Manner, of the worst Sort. The *Tombs* of many *Emperors*, that lie buried there, are remarkable for their Meanness, they being only great *Flag-stones* laid on some small *Stone-pillasters* of a Foot and a Half high: There are also the Marks of a ridiculous *Fable* concerning *St. Bernard*, which is too foolish to be related, yet since they have taken such Pains to preserve the Remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are
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from the Gate all along the Nef of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Quire, four round Plates of Brass, above a Foot Diameter, and at the Distance of thirty Foot one from another, laid in the Pavement; on the first of these is engraven, *O Clemens*; on the second, *O Pia*; on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*: The last is about thirty Foot distant from a Statue of the Virgin's; so they say that St. Bernard came up the whole Length of the Church at four Steps, and that those four Plates were laid where he stept; and that at every Step he pronounced the Word that is engraven on the Plate; and when he came to the last, the Image of the Virgin answer'd him, *Salve Bernarde*; Upon which he answer'd, *Let a Woman keep Silence in the Church*; and that the Virgin's Statue has kept Silence ever since: This last Part of the Story is certainly very credible. He was a Man of Learning that shew'd me this; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least, that he had a mind to make me believe it: And I ask'd him as gravely, if that was firmly believed there; he told me, that one had lately writ a Book to prove the Truth of it; as I remember, it was a Jesuit: He acknowledg'd it was not an Article of Faith; so I was satisfied. There is in the Cloister an old Gothick Representation of our Saviour's Agony, in Stone, with a great many Figures of his Apostles, and the Company that came to seize him, that is not ill Sculpture for the Age in which it was made, it being some Ages old. The Calvinists have a Church in this Town, but their Numbers are not considerable. I was told there were some ancient Manuscripts in the Library, that belongeth to the Cathedral; but one of the Prebendaries, to whom I address'd my self, being, according to the German Custom, a Man of greater Quality than Learning, told me he heard they had some ancient Manuscripts, but he knew nothing of it; and the Dean was absent, so I could not see them; for he kept one of the Keys. The Lower Palatinate

is certainly one of the sweetest Countries in all Germany: It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of *Heidelberg*: The Town is all situated just in a Bottom, between two Ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended. I need say nothing of the *Castle*, nor the prodigious *Wine-Cellar*, in which tho' there is but one celebrated *Tun*, that is seventeen Foot high, and twenty-six Foot long, and is built with a Strength liker that of the Ribs of a Ship, than the Staves of a *Tun*; yet there are many other *Tuns* of such a prodigious Bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary if this vast one did not eclipse them. The late Prince *Charles Lewis* shew'd his Capacity in the Peopling and Settling this State, that had been so entirely ruin'd, being for many Years the Seat of War; for in four Years Time he brought it to a flourishing Condition: He raised the Taxes as high as possible without dispeopling his Country; all Mens Estates were valued, and they were taxed at five *per Cent.* of the Value of their Estates; but their Estates were not valued to the Rigour, but with such Abatements as have been ordinary in England in the Times of *Subsidies*; so that when his Son offer'd to bring the Taxes down to two *per Cent.* of the real Value, the Subjects all desir'd him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany that is more *absolute* than the *Electo Palatine*; for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth, without being limited to any Forms of Government. And here I saw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of Germany are only bound to their particular Prince; for they swear *Allegiance* singly to the *Electo*, without any Reserve for the *Emperor*; and in their Prayers for him, they name him their *Sovereign*. It is true, the Prince is under some Ties to the *Emperor*; but the Subjects are under none. And by this *Dr. Fabricius*, a learned and judicious *Professor* there, explain'd those Words of *Pareus's* Commentary on the *Romans*, which had respect only to the Princes of the Empire,

Empire, and were quite misunderstood by those who fancied that they favour'd *Rebellion*; for there is no Place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than there. I found a great Spirit of Moderation with relation to those small Controversies, that have occasion'd such Heat in the *Protestant Churches*, reigning in the *University* there, which is in a great Measure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy Temper of Mind of *Dr. Fabritius*, and *Dr. Miek*; who as they were long in *England*, so they have that generous *Largeness of Soul*, which is the noble Ornament of many of the *English Divines*. Prince *Charles Lewis* saw that *Manheim* was mark'd out by Nature to be the most important Place of all his *Territory*, it being situated in the Point where the *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhine*; so that those two *Rivers* defending it on two Sides, it was capable of a good Fortification: It is true, the *Air* is not thought wholesome; and the *Water* is not good, yet he made a fine *Town* there and a noble *Citadel*, with a regular *Fortification* about it; and he designed a great *Palace* there; but he did not live to build it. He saw of what Advantage *Liberty of Conscience* was to the Peopling of his *Country*; so as he suffered the *Jews* to come and settle there, he resolv'd also not only to suffer the *three Religions*, tolerated by the *Laws* of the *Empire*, to be profess'd there, but he built a *Church* for them all *three*, which he call'd the *Church of the Concord*, in which both *Calvinists*, *Lutherans* and *Papists* had, in the Order in which I have set them down, the Exercise of their *Religion*; and he maintained the Peace of his *Principality* so intirely, that there was not the least Disorder occasioned by this *Toleration*. This indeed made him to be look'd on as a *Prince* that did not much consider *Religion* himself: He had a wonderful Application to all Affairs, and was not only his own chief *Minister*, but he alone did the Work of many.

But I were unjust if I should not say somewhat to you of the *Princely Virtues* and the *celebrated Probability* of the *present Pr. Elector*, upon whom that Dignity is devolv'd by the Extinction of so many *Princes*, that in this Age compos'd the most numerous *Family*, of any of that Rank in *Europe*. This *Prince*, as he is in many respects an Honour to the *Religion* that he professes, so he is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promises he made his *Subjects* with relation to their *Religion*, in which he has not (even in the smallest Matters) broke in upon their establish'd *Laws*; and tho' an *Order of Men*, that have turned the World up-side down, have great Credit with him, yet it is hitherto visible, that they cannot carry it so far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the establish'd *Religion*; and to those *sacred Promises* that he made his *Subjects*. For he makes it appear to all the World, that he does not consider those, as so many *Words* spoken at first to lay his *People* asleep, which he may now explain and observe as he thinks fit; but as so many *Ties* upon his *Conscience* and *Honour*, which he will religiously observe. And as in the other Parts of his *Life* he has set a noble Pattern to all the *Princes* of *Europe*, so his Exactness to his Promises is that which cannot be too much commended; of which this extraordinary *Instance* has been communicated to me since I am come into this Country. The *Elector* had a *Procession* in his *Court* last *Corpus Christi* Day, upon which one of the *Ministers* of *Heidelberg* preach'd a very severe *Sermon* against *Popery*, and in particular taxed that *Procession* perhaps with greater Plainness than Discretion: This being brought to the *Elector's* Ears, he sent presently an *Order* to the *Ecclesiastical Senate* to suspend him. That *Court* is composed of some *Secular Men*, and some *Church-men*, and as the *Prince's* Authority is delegated to them, so they have a sort of an *Episcopal Jurisdiction* over all the *Clergy*. This *Order* was a Surprize to them, as being a di-

rest Breach upon their *Laws* and the Liberty of their Religion; so they sent a *Deputation* to Court, to let the *Elector* know the Reasons that hinder'd them from obeying his *Orders*, which were heard with so much Justice and Gentleness, that the *Prince*, instead of expressing any Displeasure against them, recalled the *Order* that he had sent them. The Way from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort*, is, for the first twelve or fifteen Miles, the beautifullest Piece of Ground that can be imagined; for we went under a Ridge of little *Hills* that are all cover'd with *Vines*, and from them, as far as the Eye can go, there is a beautiful Plain of Corn-Fields and Meadows, all sweetly divided and inclosed with Rows of Trees, so that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this Advantage, that here all was not of a Piece, as it is in *Lombardy*; but the *Hills*, as they made a pleasant Inequality in the Prospect, so they made the *Air* purer, and produced a pleasant *Wine*: The Way near *Darmstat*, and all forwards to *Frankfort*, becometh more wild and more sandy: There is a good *Suburb* on the South-Side of the *Main* over against *Frankfort*, which hath a very considerable *Fortification*: There is a double *Wall*, and a double *Ditch*, that goeth round it; and the outward *Wall*, as it is regularly fortified, so it is faced with *Brick* to a considerable Height. The Town of *Frankfort* is of a great Extent, and seemed to be but about a third Part less than *Strasburgh*: The three Religions are also tolerated there; and tho' the Number of the *Papists* are very inconsiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude Building; they have also several other Churches, and some *Convents* there. There are several open *Squares* for Market-Places, and the Houses about them look very well without. Among their *Archives* they preserve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great *Parchment* writ in *High Dutch*, without any Beauty answering to its Title; and since I could not have understood it, I was not at the Pains of desiring to see it; for that is not obtained without Difficulty.

The Lutherans have here built a new Church, called St. Catherine's, in which there is as much painting as ever I saw in any Popish Church; and over the high Altar there is a huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other Places of their Church. The Pulpit is extream fine, of Marble of different Colours, very well polish'd and join'd. I was here at Serman, where I understood nothing; but I lik'd one thing that I saw both at Strasburgh and here, that at the End of Prayers there was a considerable Interval of Silence left, before the Conclusion, for all Peoples private Devotions. In the House of their publick Discipline, they retain still the old Roman Pistrina or Hand-mill; at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Mill-stones go. There is a great Number of Jews here, tho' their two Synagogues are very little, and by consequence, the Numbers being great, they are very nasty: I was told, they were in all above twelve hundred. The Women had the most of a tawdry Imbroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I saw; for they had all Mantles of Crape, and, both about the Top and the Bottom, there was a Border above a Hand-breadth of Imbroidery. The Fortification of Frankfort is considerable; their Ditch is very broad, and very full of Water; all the Bastions have a Countermine, that runneth along by the Brim of the Ditch; but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and so in many Places it is in an ill Condition; the cover'd Way and Glacis are also in an ill Case: The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleasantly situated. Not far from hence is Hockam, that yieldeth the best Wine of those Parts. Since I took Frankfort in my Way from Heidelberg to Mentz, I could not pass by Worms, for which I was sorry. I had a great Mind to see that Place where Luther made his first Appearance before the Emperor and the Diet, and in that solemn Audience express'd an undaunted Zeal for that Glorious Cause in which God made him such

a blessed *Instrument*. I had another Piece of Curiosity on me, which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a Mind to see a *Picture*, that as I was told, is over one of the *Popish Altars* there, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of *Transubstantiation*, to make it appear ridiculous. There is a *Wind-mill*, and the *Virgin* throws *Christ* into the *Hopper*, and he comes out at the Eye of the *Mill* all in *Wafers*, which some *Priests* take up to give to the *People*. This is so coarse an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for *Laplanders*; but a Man that can swallow *Transubstantiation* it self, will digest this likewise. *Mentz* is very nobly situated on a rising Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two *Rivers*, the *Rhine* and the *Main*; it is of too great a Compass, and too ill peopled to be capable of a great Defence: There is a *Citadel* upon the highest Part of the *Hill* that commandeth the *Town*; it is compassed about with a dry *Ditch* that is considerably deep: The *Walls* of the *Town* are faced with *Brick*, and regularly fortified, but the *Counterscarp* is not faced with *Brick*, so all is in a sad Condition; and the *Fortification* is weakest on that Side where the *Electors's Palace* is. There is one Side of a new *Palace* very nobly built in a regular *Architecture*, only the *Germans* do still retain somewhat of the *Gothick* manner: It is of a great Length, and the Design is to build quite round the *Court*, and then it will be a very magnificent *Palace*, only the *Stone* is red; for all the *Quarries* that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Basil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red *Stone*, which doth not look beautiful. The *Electors* of *Mentz* is an absolute *Prince*, his *Subjects* present *Lists* of their *Magistrates* to him, but he is not tied to them, and may Name whom he will. The ancient *Demefn* of the *Electorate* is about forty thousand *Crowns*; but the *Taxes* rise to above three hundred thousand *Crowns*; so that the *Subjects* here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*: There is twelve thousand *Crowns* a *Year* given
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the *Electo*r for his privy Purse, and the *State* bears the rest of his whole Expence: It can Arm ten thousand Men, and there is a *Garrison* of two thousand Men in *Mentz*: This *Electo*r hath three *Councils* one as he is *Chancellor* of the *Empire*, consisting; of three Persons: The other two are for the *Policy* and *Justice* of his *Principality*. He and his *Chapter* have *Months* by Turns for the Nomination of the *Prebends*. In the Month of *January* he names if any dies, and they chuse in the Room of such as die in *February*, and so all the *Year* round. The *Prebendaries* or *Dome-Heer's* have about three thousand *Crowns* a *Year* apiece. When the *Electo*r dieth, the *Empero*r sendeth one to see the *Election* made, and he recommendeth one, but the *Canons* may chuse whom they please; and the present *Electo*r was not of the *Empero*r's Recommendation. Besides the *Palace* at *Mentz*, the *Electo*r hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the best that is in those Parts of *Germany*: The *Cathedral* is a huge *Gothick* Building; there is a great *Cupulo* in the *West-End*, and there the *Quire* singeth *Mafs*. I could not learn whether this was done only because the Place here was of greater Reception than at the *East-End*, or if any *Burying-Place* and *Indowment* obliged them to the *West-End*. Near the *Cathedral* there is a huge *Chapel* of great Antiquity, and on the *North-Door* there are two great *Brass Gates* with a long *Inscription*, which I had not Time to write out, but I found it was in the *Empero*r *Lotharius's* Time. There are a vast Number of *Churches* in this *Town*, but it is poor, and ill inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almost half an *English Mile* broad, and there is a *Bridge* of *Boats* lay'd over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Baccharach* (which seems to carry its Name [*Bacchi Ara*] from some famous *Altar* that the *Romans* probably created by reason of the good *Wine* that grows in the Neighbourhood.) There is a great Number of very considerable *Villages* on both Sides of the *River*: Here the *Rats Tower* is shewed, and the *People* of the Country

Country do all firmly believe the Story of the *Rats* eating up an *Electors*, and that tho' he fled to this *Island*, where he built a small high *Tower*, they pursued him still, a swimming after him, and eat him up; and they told us, that there were some of his *Bones* to be seen still in the *Tower*. This extraordinary Death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlook'd for sort of Death, that carried off a poor *Labourer* of the Ground a few Days before I left *Geneva*. The Foot of one of his *Cattle*, as he was *Ploughing*, went into a Nest of *Wasps*, upon which the whole *Swarm* came out, and set upon him that held the *Plough*, and killed him in a very little Time; and his Body was prodigiously swell'd with the *Poyson* of so many Stings. But to return to the *Rhine*; all the Way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both Sides of the *River* hanging Grounds, or little *Hills*, so laid, as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich *Rhenish Wine*. They are indeed as well expos'd to the *Sun*, and cover'd from *Storms*, as can be imagin'd. And the Ground on those *Hills*, which are in some Places of a considerable Height, is so cultivated, that there is not an Inch lost that is capable of Improvement, and this bringeth so much Wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of considerable *Villages*. *Coblentz* is the strongest Place that I saw of all that belong to the *Empire*; the Situation is noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moselle* passing along the Side of the *Town*; it is well fortified, the *Ditch* is large; the *Counter-scarp* is high, and the cover'd *Way* is in a good Condition; both *Walls* and *Counter-scarp* are faced with *Brick*, and there are *Ravelins* before the *Cornices*; but on the Side of the *Moselle* it is very slightly fortified, and there is no *Fort* at the End of the *Stone-Bridge* that is laid over the *Moselle*, so that it lieth quite open on that Side, which seemeth a strange Defect in a Place of that Consequence: But tho' the *Fortifications* of this Place is very considerable, yet

its chief Defence lieth in the Fort of *Hermanstan*, which is built on the Top of a very high Hill, that lyeth on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and which commandeth this Place so absolutely, that he who is Master of *Hermanstan*, is always Master of *Coblenz*. This belongeth to the *Elector of Triers*, whose Palace lyeth on the East-Side of the *Rhine*, just at the Foot of the Hill of *Hermanstan*, and over against the Point where the *Moselle* falleth into the *Rhine*, so that nothing can be more pleasantly situated; only the Ground begins to rise just at the back of the House with so much Steepness, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The House maketh a great Show upon the River; but we were told, that the Apartments within were not answerable to the Outside. I say, we were told; for the German Princes keep such Forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unless it be when they are abroad themselves; so that we neither got within the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanstan*. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the *Elector of Cologne* keepeth his Court: The Place hath a regular Fortification; the Walls are faced with Brick; but tho' the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counter-scarp is in so ill a Condition, that it is not able to make a great Defence. This *Elector* is the noblest born, and the best provided of all the German Clergy; for he is Brother to the great *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*; and besides *Cologne*, he hath *Liege*, *Munster*, and *Hilderheim*, which are all great Bishopsricks: He hath been also six and thirty Years in the *Electorate*: His Palace is very mean, consisting but of one Court; the half of which is cast into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court; the lower Part of the Court was a Stable; but he hath made an Apartment here, that is all furnished with Pictures; where, as there are some of the Hands of the greatest Masters, so there are a great many Posts to set these off, that are scarce good enough for Sign-posts.

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The *Electör* has a great many *Gold Medals*, which will give me Occasion to tell you one of the extravagantest Pieces of Forgery that perhaps ever was; which happened to be found out at the last Siege of *Bonne*: For while they were clearing the Ground for planting a *Battery*, they discovered a *Vault*, in which there was an *Iron-chest* that was full of *Medals* of *Gold* to the Value of one hundred thousand *Crowns*; and of which I was told the *Electör* bought to the Value of thirty thousand *Crowns*. They are huge big, one weighed eight hundred *Ducats*, and the *Gold* was of the Fineness of *Ducat Gold*. But tho' they bore the Impressions of *Roman Medals*, or rather *Medallions*, they were all *Counterfeit*; and the Imitation was so coarsely done, that one must be extream ignorant in *Medals* to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true were of the late *Greek Emperor's*. Now it is very unaccountable what could induce a Man to make a Forgery upon such *Mettle*, and in so vast a Quantity, and then to bury all this under Ground, especially in an *Age* in which so much *Gold* was ten Times the Value of what it is at present; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred Years ago.

The *Prince* went out a hunting while we were there, with a very handsome *Guard* of about four-score *Horse* well mounted, so we saw the *Palace*; but were not suffered to see the *Apartment* where he lodged. There is a great *Silver Casket* gilt, all set with *Emeralds* and *Rubies*, that tho' they made a fine Appearance, yet were a Composition of the *Prince's* own making: His Officers also shewed us a *Basin* and *Ewer*, which they said were of *Mercury* fixed by the *Prince* himself; but they added, that now for many Years he wrought no more in his *Laboratory*. I did not easily believe this, and as the Weight of the *Plate* did not approach to that of *Quick-silver*, so the medicinal Virtue of fixed *Mercury* (if there is any such Thing) are so extraordinary,

dinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two Pieces of Plate. A Quarter of a Mile without the Town, the best Garden of those Parts of Germany is to be seen, in which there is a great Variety of *Water-works*, and very many noble *Alleys*, in the *French* manner, and the whole is of a very considerable Extent; but as it hath no *Statue* of any Value to adorn it, so the House about which it lieth is in Ruins: And it is strange to see, that so rich and so great a *Prince*, during so long a *Regency*, hath done so little to enlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblentz* are both poor and small Towns. *Cologne* is three Hours distant from *Bonne*, it is of a prodigious Extent; but ill built and worse peopled in the remote Parts of it: And as the *Walls* are all in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortify so vast a Compass as this Town maketh, as it ought to be without a Charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The *Jews* live in a little *Suburb* on the other Side of the *River*, and may not come over, without Leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no Exercise of the *Protestant Religion* suffered within the Town; but those of the Religion are suffered to live there, and they have a Church at two Miles Distance. The *Arsenal* here is suitable to the *Fortifications*, very mean, and ill furnished. The *Quire* of the great Church is as high in the Roof, as any Church I ever saw; but it seemeth the Wealth of this Place could not finish the whole *Fabrick*, so as to answer the Heighth of the *Quire*; for the *Body* of the Church is very low. Those that are disposed to believe *Legends*, have enough here to overset even a good Degree of *Credulity*, both in the Story of the *Three Kings*, whose *Chapel*, is visited with great Devotion, and standeth at the East-end of the great *Quire*: And in that more copious *Fable* of the eleven thousand *Ursulins*, whose Church is all over full of rough *Tombs*, and of a vast Number of *Bones*, that are piled up in

Rows about the Walls of the Church: These Fables are so firmly believed by the *Papists* there, that the least Sign which one giveth of doubting of their Truth, passeth for an infallible Mark of an *Heretic*. The *Jesuits* have a great and noble College and Church here. And for *Thauler's* sake I went to the *Dominicans House* and Church, which is also very great. One grows extream weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of Entertainment in it. The present Subject of their Discourse is also very melancholy: The late *Rebellion* that was there is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A Report was set about the Town, by some *Incendiaries*, that the *Magistrates* did eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruin the City; I could not learn what Ground there was for these Reports; for it is not ordinary to see Reports of that kind fly thro' a Body of Men without some Foundation: It is certain, this came to be so generally believed that there was a horrible Disorder occasioned by it. The *Magistrates* were glad to save themselves from the Storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular Fury, some of them having been made Sacrifices to it; and this Rage held long: But within this last Year, after near two Years Disorder, those that were sent by the *Emperor* and *Dyt* to judge the Matter, having threatened to put the Town under the *Imperial Bann*, if it had stood longer out, were received; and have put the *Magistrates* again in the Possession of their Authority, and all the chief *Incendiaries* were clapt in Prison; many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in Prison? They told us that some Executions were to be made within a Week when we were there. *Dusseldorp* is the first considerable Town below *Cologne*, it is the Seat of the Duke of *Juliers*, who is Duke of *Newburgh*, eldest Son to the present *Electors Palatine*. The Palace is old and *Gothick* enough: But the *Jesuits* have there a fine College and a noble Chapel, tho' there are manifest Faults in the

the *Architecture*: The *Protestant Religion* is tolerated, and they have a *Church* built here within these few Years, that was procured by the *Intercession* of the *Electors of Brandenburg*, who observing exactly the *Liberty of Religion* that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had Reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in favour of his own Religion. The *Fortification* here is very ordinary, the *Ramparts* being faced but a few Foot high with *Brick*. But *Keiserswert*, some Hours lower on the same Side, which belongeth to the *Electors of Cologne*, tho' it is a much worse Town than *Dusseldorp*, yet it is much better fortified: It hath a very broad *Ditch*, and a very regular *Fortification*: The *Walks* are considerably high, faced with *Brick*, and so is the *Counter-scarp*, which is also in a very good Condition. The *Fortification* of *Orsy* is now quite demolished. *Rhinebergh* continueth as it was; but the *Fortification* is very mean, only of *Earth*, so that it is not capable of making a great Resistance. And *Wesel*, tho' it is a very fine Town, yet it is a very poor *Fortification*, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast Expence; for the Ground all about it being sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the Foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Piloty*. In all these Towns one sees another Air of Wealth and Abundance than in much richer Countries, that are exhausted with Taxes. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good Towns; but the *Fortifications* are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous Country, that hath at present very little Defence, except what it hath from its Situation. *Cleve* is a delicious Place, the Situation and Prospect are charming, and the Air is very pure; and from thence we came hither in three Hours.

I will not say one Word of the Country into which I am now come, for as I know that is needless to you on many Accounts, so a Picture that I see here in the *Stadt-houfe*, puts me in mind of the perfectest

featest Book of its kind that is perhaps in being; for
 Sir William Temple, whose Picture hangeth here at
 the Upper-end of the Plenipotentiaries that negoti-
 ated the famous Treaty of Nimwegen, hath indeed
 set a Pattern to the World, which is done with such
 Life, that it may justly make others blush to copy
 after it, since it must be acknowledged, that if we
 had as perfect an Account of the other Places, as he
 hath given us of one of the least; but yet one of
 the noblest Parcels of the Universe, Travelling would
 become a needles Thing, unless it were for Diver-
 sion, since one findeth no further Occasion for his
 Curiosity in this Country than what is fully satis-
 fy'd by his rare Performance; yet I cannot give
 over writing, without reflecting on the Resistance
 that this Place made when so many other Places
 were so basely delivered up, tho' one doth not see in
 the Ruins of the Fortification here how it could
 make so long a Resistance; yet it was that that stem'd
 the Tide of a Progress that made all the World stand
 amazed; and it gave a little Time to the Dutch to
 recover themselves out of the Consternation into
 which so many Blows, that came so thick one af-
 ter another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a Change, that tho' it
 hath not had so much Incense given to it, as the hap-
 py Conjunction of another Prince hath drawn af-
 ter it, with so much Excess, that all the Topicks
 of Flattery seem'd exhausted by it, yet will appear
 to Posterity one of the most surprizing Scenes in Hi-
 story, and that which may be well matched with the
 Recovery of the Roman State after the Battle of Canne.
 When a young Prince, that had never before born
 Arms, or so much as seen a Campaign, who had lit-
 tle or no Council about him; but that which was
 suggested from his own Thoughts, and that had no
 extraordinary Advantage by his Education, either for
 Literature or Affairs, was of a sudden set at the
 Head of a State and Army that was sunk with so
 many Losses, and that saw the best Half of its Soil
 torn

torn from it, and the powerfulest *Enemy* in the World, surrounded with a victorious *Army*, that was commanded by the best *Generals* that the *Age* hath produced, come within Sight, and settle his *Court* in one of its best *Towns*, and had at the same Time the greatest Force both by Sea and Land that hath been known, united together for its Destruction. When the *Inhabitants* were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an *Enemy*, to let loose that which on all other Occasions is the most dreadful to them, and to drown so great a Part of their Soil, for the Preservation of the rest; and to complicate together all the Miseries that a *Nation* can dread, when to the general Consternation, with which so dismal a *Scene* possessed them, a Distraction within Doors seemed to threaten them with the last Strokes; and while their *Army* was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any Thing from such feeble *Troops*, after a Peace at Land of almost *thirty Years* continuance; and while their chief *Allie*, that was the most concerned in their Preservation, was, like a great paralytick Body, liker to fall on those that it pretended to support, and to crush them, than to give them any considerable Assistance. When, I say, a young *Prince* came at the Head of all this, the very Prospect of which would have quite damp'd an ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the *Scene*; he animated the publick *Councils* with a generous Vigour: He found them sinking into a Feebleness of hearkening to *Propositions* for a *Peace*, that were as little safe as they were honourable; but he disposed them to resolve on hazard-ing all rather than submit to such infamous Terms. His Credit also among the *Populace* seemed to inspire them with a new Life; they easily persuaded themselves, that as one *WILLIAM*, Prince of *ORANGE*, had formed their *State*, so here another of the same Name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of *Courage* which he derived from his own Breast, and infused into

into the whole People, as well as into the Magistracy, that preserved this Country. Something there was in all this that was divine. The publick Councils were again settled, and the People were at quiet, when they saw him vested with a full Authority for that Time with Relation to Peace and War, and concluded that they were safe, because they were in his Hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the Interest of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propositions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without so much as considering the Advantages that were offered to himself (in which you know that I writ upon sure Grounds.) He refused the offer of the Sovereignty of its chief City, that was made to him by a solemn Deputation, being satisfy'd with that Authority which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much Glory, and being justly sensible, how much the breaking in upon established Laws and Liberties is fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He thus begun his publick Appearance on the Stage with all the Disadvantages that a Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for; since it was visible, that he had nothing to trust to, but a good Cause, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: Nor was Success wanting to such noble Beginnings, for he in a short Time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any Thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered this State out of so desperate a Distemper, took some Places by main Force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a Manner. And if a raw Army had not always Success against more numerous and better-trained Troops, and if the want of Magazines and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the chief Scene of the War, made that he could not post his Army, and wait for favourable Circumstances, so that he was sometimes forced to run to Action with a Haste that his Necessities imposed upon him; yet the Forcing of the

Beginnings of a *Victory* out of the Hands of the *greatest General* of the Age, the Facing a great *Monarch* with an *Army* much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an *Engagement*; and in short, the Forming the *Dutch Army* to such a Pitch, that it became visibly *Superior* to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with *Conquests*; and the continuing the *War* till the *Prince* that had sacrificed the *Quiet* of *Europe* to his *Glory*, was glad to come and treat for a *Peace* in the *Enemies Country*, and in this very *Place*, and to set all *Engines* on work to obtain that, by the *Mediation* of some, and the *Jealousies* of other *Princes*: All these are such Performances, that *Posterity* will be disposed to rank them rather among the *Ideas* of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really transacted in so short a *Time*, and in such a *Manner*. And in *Conclusion*, every *Place* that belonged to these *States*, and to their *Neighbours* along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being restored, these *Provinces* do now see themselves under his happy *Conduct*, re-established in their former *Peace* and *Security*. And tho' some *Scars* of such deep *Wounds* do still remain, yet they find themselves, considered on all *Hands*, as the *Bulwark* of *Christendom* against the *Fears* of a new *Monarchy*, and as the *Preservers* of the *Peace* and *Liberty* of *Europe*.

Here is a *Harvest*, not for forced *Rhetorick*, or false *Eloquence*, but for a severe and sincere *Historian*, capable of affording a *Work* that will far exceed all those luscious *Panegyrics* of mercenary *Pens*: But a small or counterfeit *Jewel* must be set with all possible *Advantages*, when a true one, of great *Value*, needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a greater *Subject*, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this *Hint*, that as I cannot after this bring my *Pen* down to lower *Matters*, so I dare not trust my self too long to the *Heat* that so noble an *Object* inspires, therefore I break off abruptly.

Y O U R S:
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APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Some *Remarks*, that have been sent to me by a *Person* of Quality.

A Person of great Rank, that is of Italian Extraction, and that by consequence knows the Country well, having spent much of his Time in it, had heard that I was giving the World an Account of the Reflections that I had made on the present State of Italy, and upon that he writ the following Paper to one of his Friends, to be communicated to me; for I have not the Honour of any Commerce with himself. The Observations that he had made, agreed so exactly with my own, that I thought it would be no small Advantage towards the supporting the Credit of those that I had made, to find them confirm'd by so extraordinary a Person, whose Character (as those who know him well have assured me) is so undisputed, that if I durst name him, this alone would serve to establish the Belief of the most

most critical Parts of my Letters in the Minds of all that should read his Paper: But since I cannot adventure on this without obtaining his Leave, and since he is now at such a Distance, that it is not easie to get his Friend to write to him, or to receive an Answer from him time enough, therefore I have added this Memorial faithfully translated into English. There are two Particulars in which He and I differ, and in so great a Variety of Observations, that are so critical, and so much out of the common Road, it will not appear strange, if there should be some Disagreement. When he mentions the Tax that the Pope has laid on the Corn, he does not add one Thing which I mention, and that is, that the Measure by which the Pope sells is by a fifth Part less than that by which he buys. The other is more considerable; for in the Account that he gives of the present Pope's breaking in upon the Settlement of the Bank, tho' it is upon the Matter very near the same with that which I give, yet there is a Difference of some Importance as to the Manner of doing it; but as to that, all I can say, is, that the first Account I had of that Transaction, was the same that is in this Gentleman's Paper; but afterwards I had Occasion to talk of this Matter very copiously with one that has lived many Years in the Pope's Dominions, and that has dealt much in those Affairs; he has now a Character upon him, and so it is not expedient to name him: It was from him that I had the particular Recital of this Matter, and therefore I thought it surer to go upon the Information that I had from him than upon the general Report that all Strangers may find at Rome. This Paper had been more copious, if the Person that writ it had not been restrained by some particular Considerations from saying any Thing relating to the Government of Venice.

Remarks upon SWITZERLAND.

IT is very surprizing when one comes out of *France* (which is an extraordinary good Country) into *Switzerland*, which is not near so fertile, and yet to see so great a Difference between the *People* of those two Countries. The *People* in *France*, and especially the *Peasants*, are very poor, and most of them reduced to great Misery and Want. The *People* in *Switzerland* cannot be said to be very rich; but yet there are very few, even amongst the *Peasants* themselves, that are miserably poor; the most Part of them have enough to live upon from their Labour and the Fruits of the Earth. Every where in *France*, even in the best *Cities* there are Swarms of *Beggars*; and yet scarce any to be seen throughout all *Switzerland*. The Houses of the *Peasants*, or Country-people in *France* are extreamly mean, and in them no other Furniture to be found besides poor nasty Beds, straw Chairs, and Plates and Dishes of Wood and Earth: In *Switzerland* the *Peasants* have their Houses furnished with good Feather-Beds, good Chairs, and other Household-stuff for their Convenience, as well as their Necessity: Their Windows are all of Glass, always kept mended and whole, and their Linnen very neat and white, and as well for their Bedding as their Tables.

Of the GRISONS Country.

THE *Grisons* Country is much more barren than *Switzerland*, because 'tis wholly upon the Mountains, which produce nothing at all, yet not-

notwithstanding (all Excess and Luxury being banished from amongst them, and the Inhabitants being extremely laborious) there are none to be seen there that are very poor and needy; but they live at Ease, and there are a great many Gentry of good Estates. Their Government is altogether Popular; there are but three or four Royalties belonging to Nobility in all the Country. All the rest of their Lands are in Demesne, which may yet well be called Royalties too, because exempt from all Dues and Payments whatsoever. There is nothing at all to be paid for bringing into the Country any sort of Goods or Merchandizes, or for exporting of them thence; every one there fully enjoys the Fruit of his own Labours, and the Revenues of his Land: Altho' the Wine they drink is brought upon Horses four or five Days Journey, yet they have it cheaper there than in most Parts of *Italy* or *France*, where it so plentifully grows. There are Villages upon the very Tops of the Mountains consisting of one hundred and fifty, and two hundred Houses apiece; and altho' they have no Corn or Grain that grows there, and but very little Grass, yet the Peasants keep three or four hundred Horses, which they imploy to carry Goods and Merchandizes, which turns to so good Account that they live very well, and want nothing either for the Necessity or Convenience of Life. The Inns upon the Mountains are very good; and there is always to be had, besides good Bread and Wine, great Quantity of Game and Venison, according to the Season of the Year, good Trouts; very good Chambers, and Beds after the manner of the Country. When you leave the *Grisons* Country, and are come into the Country of *Chavenné*, the People begin to speak broken *Italian*: Altho' this latter is a more fertile Country, yet the Inhabitants and Peasants do not live so well as in the *Grisons* Country; for that the Natives are more slothful and lazy, and here again there are abundance of poor People, as you will find in all Parts of *Italy*.



Of the Bailiage of LUGANE.

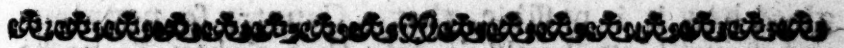
TH E R E are on the other Side of the Mountains four *Bailiages*, which were formerly part of the *Dutchy* of *Milan*: *Lewis XII.* when he lost that *Dutchy*, gave these *Bailiages* to some of the *Switz Cantons*. These *Bailiages* are called *Lugane*, *Lucarno*, *Mendris*, and *Belinſton*. I ſhall only take Notice of the *Bailiage* of *Lugane*, which contains ninety nine *Villages*: The Territories of this *Bailiage*, and of the others, are not near ſo good as that of *Milan*, to which it joins; yet the *Villages* of this *Bailiage* are very populous; the Land is very fruitful, becauſe it is well cultivated, and all the Inhabitants live contented and well: There are no *Beggars* amongſt them, nor hardly any Object of Miſery and Want; Their Houſes are all good, well built, and kept in good Repair. The Territory of *Milan* is certainly one of the beſt in all *Italy*; it produceth Wine, Corn and Oyl in abundance, very great Quantities of Silk, and (generally ſpeaking) all ſorts of Fruits: There is alſo excellent Paſture for Cattle, and yet the *Peaſants* there do not live ſo well by much as in the *Bailiage* of *Lugane*; for there is a great deal of Land that lies unmanur'd, and the Country is not near ſo populous as in *Lugane*. There can be no other Reason given for this Difference, but that *Milan* is under the Dominion of *Spain*: That the People are loaden with Impoſts, Subſidies and Taxes, which makes them very poor; whereas the People of *Lugane* are under the Government of *Switzerland*, who put no Taxes or Subſides upon them.

Remarks



Remarks upon the LAKES.

I Do not know that in the Kingdom of France, as it was thirty Years since, there were any Lakes, except perhaps in the Mountains of Dauphiné. From the Lake of Four to the Lake of Gard, which is at Desenesan, between Bresse and Veronne, in the Territories of Venice, there are a great Number of Lakes; one of the most considerable is that of Geneva; then there is the Lake of Newchattel, the Lake of d'Yverdun, the Lake of Morat, the Lake of Bienne, the Lake of Quinti, the Lake of Lucern, the Lake of Constance, the Lake of Valestat, and many others in the Mountains of Switzerland. There is on the other Side of the Mountains a great and considerable Lake, called Come, also the Lake of Lugane, the Lake Major, which is above sixty Miles long, and likewise the Lake de Gard. All these Lakes are replenish'd with most excellent Fish, and particularly Trouts; but in the Lake de Gard there is found an admirable Fish, called Carpion, which is far more delicate than either Trout or Salmon; but they are not so great, for those of the largest Size do not weigh above fifteen Pounds. I do not think that in any Part of Europe there are so many fine Lakes to be found in so narrow a Compass, as those which I have here mentioned.



Concerning the Dutchy of FERRARA.

THE Duke of Ferrara hath always been but a little Prince, because his Dominions are not very great; yet there have been several of the said Dukes

Dukes for above one hundred and fifty Years ago, and since, that have made a handsome Figure, and held a considerable Rank amongst the *Princes* of *Italy*. The Country was formerly very populous, and the Lands being fertile, and well cultivated, the Revenue of the *Prince* was considerable, and he kept a good Court: But since that *Dutchy* is devolved upon the *See* of *Rome* by the Death of the last *Duke*, who died without Issue Male, the Country is almost depopulated; the most Part of the Lands are desolate; and for several Years last past the *Dutchy* is infected with Diseases, purely for want of Inhabitants. There were formerly in the Time of the *Dukes* of *Ferrara*, more than one hundred thousand People, and at present there are not fifteen thousand. The Grass grows in the Streets and most of the Houses are void.

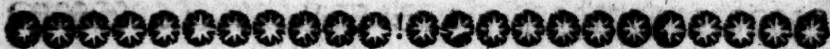
Polesino is one of the best Parts of *Italy*; and that Part of it which is possess'd by the *Venetians*, is very well cultivated and populous, and 'tis one of the best of their small Provinces. As soon as you pass the great Arm of the River *Po*, which is called the *Lagoscouro*, which separates that Part of the *Polesino* which belongs to the *Venetians*, from that which belongs to the *Pope*, altho' the Land and Country is the very same, yet the most Part of those Lands of the *Polesino*, which belongs to the *Ecclesiastical State*, are desolate and waste: The Grass lies withered and rotten upon the Ground, because there is no body takes Care to mow it; and in passing thro' great Villages, you'll find all the Houses abandon'd, and not one Inhabitant to be found. It is not easily to be imagined how it is possible, that a Country so populous, and flourishing should in less than eighty Years be so entirely ruin'd and dispeopled. By this it is very Apparent, that no Subjects are so unhappy as those that live under the Domination of the Clergy.

Concerning

Concerning the Estates of BOLOGNA.

IF the *Popes* had been able to have made themselves Masters of *Bologna*, as they have done of *Ferrara*, they would thereby have reduced it to the same miserable Condition; but *Bologna* hath always preserved their Privileges and the Civil Government by means of the *Gonfaloniers*, under whom they are govern'd: They have the Right of sending *Embassadors* to the *Pope*, who enjoy the same Prerogatives as do the *Ambassadors* of the other free *Princes* and *States*. The *Pope* cannot confiscate the Goods of any Subjects of *Bologna* for any Crime whatsoever. The great Mischiefs which too frequently happen here, more than in other Parts, are *Assassinations* and *Murders*; those that commit them fly for Shelter to some of the Churches, as to an inviolable *Asylum*, from whence the *Legates* themselves cannot bring them to be punish'd, or perhaps they retire into the Country, into some strong Hold, or into the Territories of a Neighbouring *Prince*, where they are certainly secure, and there remain until the *Legation* of the then *Cardinal* be finish'd, and afterwards make an Agreement with the Successor, who for Money pardons them (having Power so to do) all the Crimes and Murders they have committed. In other Respects the People of *Bologna* are very happy, and live in great Plenty; for that the Country is mighty fruitful, and they pay no Taxes to the *Prince*.

Remarks



Remarks on the Country of the Great Duke of TUSCANY.

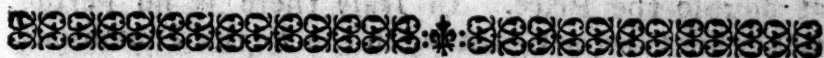
THERE are in this Great *Dukedom* three considerable Cities, *Florence*, *Pisa* and *Sienna*. All those who have read the History of *Italy*, do know, that *Pisa* was formerly a very powerful Commonwealth, that it flourish'd in Trade and Commerce, and that there were a great many wealthy Citizens belonging to it; there needs no other Proof of this than what we read, that upon a certain Occasion a hundred of the Citizens equip'd each of them a *Galley* at their own Charges, which they maintain'd during all the War. The great Actions are well known which they have done in the *Levant* by their Fleets, and how they a long time opposed the Duke of *Florence*, who at length subdued them by the Assistance of the *Spanish* Arms.

Pisa is one of the largest and most beautiful Cities of *Italy*; the Buildings are stately and fine; and so is one of their Churches, which with its Dependences is one of the finest in all *Italy*. The City is built upon the River of *Arne*, which divides it in the Midst; it is navigable for Vessels of a great Burthen; and at *Leghorn*, which is twelve Miles Distance, it falls into the Sea. It is one of the best situated Towns in all *Italy* for Trade, with which it flourish'd extreamly whilst it was a Republick; at present not only the City, but the Country belonging to it is wholly depopulated. Writers say, that there were formerly above one hundred and fifty Thousand Inhabitants, whereas now there are not twelve Thousand. The Grass grows in most Places and Streets of the City, and most of the Houses are deserted, and lie void. I was my self in a fair large

large Pallace, which was let for six Pistoles *per Annum*; the greatest Part of their Lands lie waste, and the Air is very unhealthy in most Parts, because of the small Number of Inhabitants. The Duke of *Florence* thought there was no Way to secure himself of this great City, but by depopulating of it, and ruining the Trade, which render'd it so potent, so that at present there is not any Trade there at all.

The City of *Sienna* was also formerly a very fine Commonwealth, and had in it many noble, rich, and powerful Families; but since that the Duke of *Florence* hath reduced it to his Obedience, he hath ruin'd most of the Nobility and Gentry, many of them retiring into *France*, and into the Territories of some of the Princes of *Italy*.

As to the City of *Florence* itself, it is extreamly decay'd to what it was since it came under the Government of the House of *Medicis*. It is plain from the History of *Machiavel*, and other *Italian* Authors that liv'd in those Times, that it was three times more populous when it was a Republick than it is now. The Great Duke keeping his Court and Residence there, one would think should make the City flourish the more; yet it wants a great deal of that Lustre and Splendor it had when it was a Commonwealth.



Remarks upon the Temporal Government of the P O P E.

TH E R E are certainly very few People so miserable as those who live under the Dominion of the *Pope*; most of the States of *Italy*, and where there are the most Subsidies and Impositions, have not put any Tax upon Corn and Grain which make Bread, because there is no Person, though never so

miserable, that can subsist without it ; there is that Humanity and Regard had to the People, in not laying Taxes upon Bread, because 'tis the common Nourishment, and absolutely necessary even for the most indigent and poor ; though Impositions are laid without scruple upon Wine and other Merchandises, because they are not so necessary as Bread ; yet the Pope makes no scruple to lay very great Impositions upon Corn and Bread throughout all his Dominions, except in those Places that have yet preserv'd their Liberties. It was Donna Olympia, that during the Pontificate of Innocent the X. began to put Taxes and Imposts upon Corn, and made such Laws which have ruined the most Part of the greatest Nobility and Gentry that live under the Ecclesiastical Government, who had their Revenues consisting in Corn. All the Popes who have reign'd since Innocent's Time, have found such a great Advantage to themselves by these Laws of Donna Olympia, that they have continued them ever since ; and it is at present a very considerable Part of the Ecclesiastical Revenue. The Substance of which said Law or Ordinance is this, *That no Person whatsoever is suffer'd to sell Corn to any Strangers ; but all those that have any, are oblig'd to sell it at a Price certain to the Ecclesiastical Chamber ; which is not at the most above one Moiety of the real Value ; and then the Ecclesiastical Chamber sells it again at double the Price.* In Italy there is no Person, either in City or Country, in the Pope's Dominions, who is permitted to make their own Bread, but every one is oblig'd to buy it of the Bakers, who are appointed by the Chamber : In each Village and Borough there is but one Baker established by the Chamber to make and sell Bread : The Baker is obliged to take the Corn of the Chamber at a certain Price, and to make the Bread of such a Quantity and Weight, and at a Price certain. In the great Cities, as at Rome, there are very many Bakers, who are all oblig'd to buy a certain Quantity of Corn of the Ecclesiastical Chamber for a whole Year to come, which they

they pay for before-hand, and give ten Crowns to the *Salme* or *Measure*, when at the same Time the *Chamber* bought it of the particular Persons for five Crowns, at the Beginning of the Year; all the *Bakers* are obliged to take the same Quantity of *Corn* for the Year ensuing, altho' sometimes they have a great Deal of the last Year's *Corn* upon their Hands, which they must deliver to the *Chamber* for five Crowns the *Salme* or *Measure*, and then the very same *Corn* is sold them again for ten Crowns. I do not believe that there is any Country in the World, that draws more Profit from their Subjects for *Corn*, than the *Pope* doth in his *Dominions*, which hath been partly the Cause of the Ruin of the *Ecclesiastical Estate*, since the Establishment of the said Law, which was about thirty Years since. The Country is unpeopled, and great Part of the Lands lie waste and uncultivated, because it is not worth while to manure them, when the greatest Advantage and Profit arising thereby, goes to the *Pope*. In travelling thro' the *Ecclesiastical Territories* in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, there are vast Quantities of Land unmanured. A Traveller passing thro' the Estate of a *Roman Prince*, told the *Prince*, upon his return to *Naples*, he would, if he pleased, send him *Husbandmen* that should manure his Lands; thinking that it had been for want of Labourers that the Lands lay void and waste. The *Prince* told him, That he did not want People to cultivate his Lands; but because they were obliged to sell all their *Corn* and Grain to the *Chamber* at a very low Price, it would not quit Cost to manure and cultivate it.

*Touching the Reduction of the Interest of
Money due by the MONTES at Rome,
from four to three per Cent.*

EVERY Body almost knows what 'tis, which in *Italy*, and especially at *Rome*, they call the *Montes*; it is much like the Rents upon the Town-House at *Paris*. The *Popes* having Occasion for Money, borrow great Sums of particular Persons at four *per Cent.* Interest: This they call at *Rome* the Establishment of the *Monte*, that is, the Creation of certain Officers, and the Assignment of several Rents for the Payment of those who have lent Money to the *Pope*. The present *Pope*, finding the *Chamber* engaged to the annual Payments of I know not how many Millions of *Roman Crowns* Interest to those that had lent Money upon the *Monte*, resolved in part to reduce and lessen the great Sum of Money which the Interest amounted to, and having for this Purpose raised several Millions of *Roman Crowns*, he acquainted those that had Money upon the *Monte*, that they should come and receive their principal Money, unless they would take three *per Cent.* Interest, for the four *per Cent.* which they formerly received: Whereupon there being really no Trade in all the Ecclesiastical Territories, and the Lands worth nothing, and that the Estates of the Nobility were all sold to a Penny, all Persons who had Money upon the *Monte*, not knowing how to employ it to Advantage elsewhere, let it there remain, contenting themselves with three *per Cent.* instead of four *per Cent.* which they had before. So that by this means every one concerned lost a fourth Part of their Yearly Income, and the *Chamber* got I know not how many Millions of *Crowns* Yearly by this Retrenchment of one *per Cent.*

It is almost incredible the immense Sums the Pope hath raised by retrenching of many superfluous Expences, and extinguishing several Offices to which great Salleries were paid by the Ecclesiastical Chamber, and by divers other Means. Those who are well informed in these Matters, do for certain affirm, that all the Subsidies which the Pope hath remitted to the Emperor and King of Poland, to carry on the War against the Turks, are not the thirtieth Part of the Money he hath treasured up, altho' likewise he hath paid many Debts of the Chamber, which were not chargeable upon the Montes.

I ought not here to omit relating, that the Inns especially in Tuscany, in Romagna, and between Rome and Naples, are very sordid and incommodious; one may give a pretty good Guess at the prodigious Wealth belonging to the Clergy in the Kingdom of Naples by the great Quantity of Plate, Vessels, and Statues of Silver in the Churches, and by the Riches and magnificent Furniture of their Habitations, and Vestments of the Priests. One may upon the whole Matter make this important Reflection, That if the King of Spain doth not think of some Expedient, to hinder the Clergy from increasing their Estates in Lands, which they do daily, they will in a very little Time become Masters of the greatest Part of the Kingdom of Naples; for they are already possessed of more than the Half of the Lands of that Kingdom, besides the other vast Profits they make continually, under pretence of Service to the Church, for their Masses, Buildings, Burials, Marriages, Confessions, and by their Indulgences, and the Legacies left them by Will.

Tho' these are Remarks made in haste, yet they may be of use to the Author.

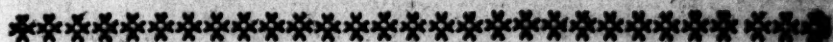
I know several very pleasant Stories of the Jesuits at Naples. The Prince of Salerne gave them a Moiety of a great House which he had at Naples, and thereupon an Inscription was engraven in Capital Letters upon the Frontispiece of the House,
of

of the Donation thereof, given to the *Jesuits* by the said Prince; within these few Years, the *Jesuits* have turn'd the *Heirs* of the Prince of *Salerno* out of Possession of the other Moiety of the said House, and have defaced the Inscription upon the House. And all this they have done by Colour of Law and Justice. Upon the first Establishment of the Society of *Jesuits*, the *Carthusians* of *Naples*, who are very rich, voluntarily assigned them a Yearly Pension of several thousand *Ducats*; but the *Carthusians* perceiving that of late Years several of the *Jesuits* were grown mighty rich, resolved to withdraw the said Pension: The *Jesuits* hereupon went to Law with them, and obtained Sentence that the said Pension should be continued. The *Jesuits* have got a very considerable Part of the Lands of the Nobility in the Kingdom of *Naples*. All the Religious, of what Order soever they be, who have Houses at *Naples*, have the Privilege of purchasing all Houses that are contiguous to them, on the one Side or the other, to the very End of the Street, in order to make their Houses intire, and to stand alone like an Island; and for this Purpose they have no more to do, than only to pay the Proprietor for his House, not according to the present Value; but as it was last sold, perhaps fifty, sixty, or one hundred Years ago, and so hath descended from Father to Son successively to the Person then in Possession.

Many other very considerable Remarks might be made of the divers Tricks and Methods the Clergy of this Kingdom make Use of to wheedle and trapan the Laity out of their Estates.

F I N I S.





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